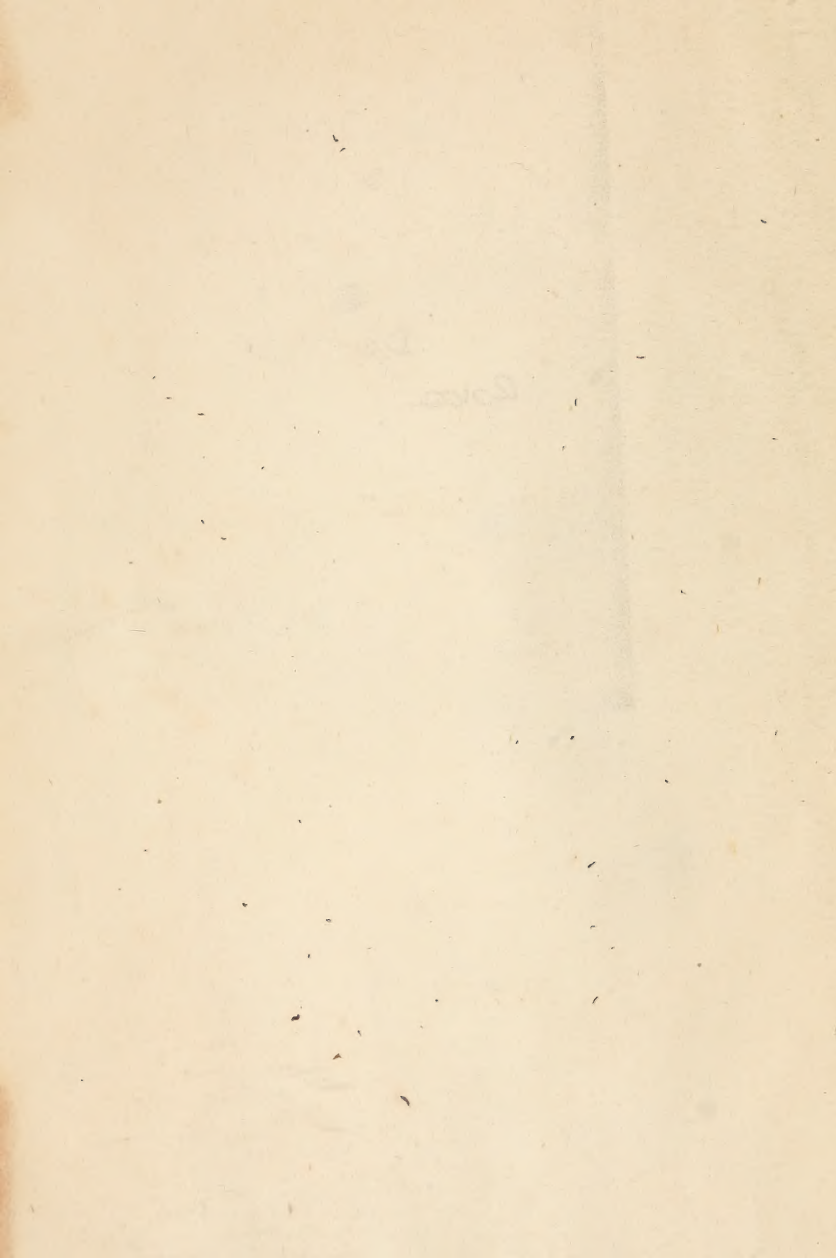


Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2007 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation



RESEARCHES

CONCERNING THE

LAWS, THEOLOGY, LEARNING,

COMMERCE, ETC.

OF

Ancient and Modern India.

BY Q. CRAUFURD, ESQ.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

187750
22 / 2 / 24

London :

PRINTED FOR T. CADELL AND W. DAVIES,
STRAND.

1817.

PREFACE.

THE work, now submitted to the Public, is intended as an epitome of what is authentically known, respecting the ancient condition of India, including all that is to be found in Greek and Roman authors; and also what has recently been obtained by modern Researches. It was written during the Author's detention in France, in common with others of his countrymen, from the recommencement of hostilities in 1803, until they were delivered by the events of 1814.

Through the obliging attentions of the Gentlemen who have the charge of the different departments of the Royal Library at Paris,* he was readily furnished with whatever books he had occasion to consult, and which were to be found in that vast and invaluable collection of works in every branch of science and literature. And the Author takes this public opportunity of testifying to those Gentlemen his gratitude for their invariable kindness towards him.

On the same account likewise, he tenders his best thanks to the Chevalier Visconti, so well known for his extensive knowledge of ancient history and antiquities; and to Monsieur Delambre, Member of the Royal Academy at Paris, and Perpetual Secretary

* M. M. les Chevaliers Millin, Van Praët, and Langlès.

to the Class of Mathematical Sciences: nor is he less grateful to that distinguished orientalist, Professor Hamilton, of the East India College, at Hertford; who, notwithstanding his own important avocations, obliged the Author by examining his work in manuscript, and furnishing him with some important remarks, of which he has gladly availed himself.

Independently of the information acquired by the Author, during a long residence in India, he has consulted every work possessing any claims to attention, that treated on the various literary and scientific subjects which it came within his design to notice. From these works both frequent and copious quotations have been made; the Author deeming it preferable to state them in the words of their respective writers than to offer them in his own lan-

guage. References, however, have in every instance been given to the original authorities; and the different editions cited are carefully indicated, in order to facilitate the researches of the studious reader.

London,
January 1st, 1817.

CONTENTS OF VOL. I.

CHAPTER I.

	Page
<i>On Ancient India</i>	1

CHAPTER II.

<i>Of the Creation—The Laws and Institutes of Menu</i>	27
--	----

CHAPTER III.

<i>The Hindū Account of the Deluge</i>	91
--	----

CHAPTER IV.

<i>On the Mythology, &c. of the Hindūs, and its Affinity with that of the Greeks and Romans</i>	93
---	----

CHAPTER V.

<i>On the Philosophy and Theology of the Hindūs</i>	179
---	-----

CHAPTER VI.

<i>The Philosophical and Theological Opinions of the Hindūs, continued</i>	216
--	-----

CHAPTER VII.

<i>Of the Sikhs</i>	277
-------------------------------	-----

*** * *** *In reading the Names of Persons and Places, the Vowels are understood to be pronounced as in the Italian Language.*

The longer Notes, referred to in the course of this volume, are placed at the end of Vol. II. in order to equalize the size of the two volumes.

RESEARCHES

ON

Ancient and Modern India.

CHAPTER I.

ON ANCIENT INDIA.

ANCIENT India appears to have comprehended not only the countries lying to the east of the Indus, but also those to the west of that river, which are bounded by the Hindū-Khow* and other mountains, as far south as the parallel of Moultan.† The

* The eastern extremity of the Indian Caucasus.

† This city appears to be situated in what is named by the Greeks, the country of the Malli.

territories, extending along the western side of the river from Moultan down to the place where it discharges itself by various branches into the sea, are separated from Persia by a long ridge of lofty rocky mountains; which, at the time of Alexander's expedition, were inhabited by a people, by the Greeks named Arabitæ:* consequently, India to the west of the Indus comprised Cabul, Candahar, Paishawur, Ghizni, Aria or Herat, together with Kadjykan, Sewistan, and the Delta of the Indus.†

* Probably colonists from Arabia.

† “ The lower part of this Delta is intersected by rivers and creeks, in almost every direction, like the Delta of the Ganges: but, unlike that, it has no trees on it, the dry parts being covered with brushwood; and the remainder, by much the greatest part, being noisome swamps, or muddy lakes. A minaret, at the mouth of Ritchel river, serves as a mark for the road, which, from the flatness and sameness of the appearance of the coast, could not otherwise be discriminated. The upper part of the Delta is well cultivated, and yields abundance of rice.

“ The

To the east of the Indus, the countries are distinguished by Strabo, Pliny, and Ptolemy, by the names of *India intra Gangem* and *India extra Gangem*; the former meaning the countries lying between the Indus and the Ganges, from west to east, and from the mountains of Emodus on the north, down to the sea at Cape Comorin, and including the island of Taprobane or Ceylon. It is possible that the continental part of this space, may have obtained the name of *peninsula*, from being inclosed by

“ The Ayeen Akbery says, that the principal food of the inhabitants of Sindy, is fish and rice.

“ It appears from Strabo, that Aristobulus allowed only 1000 stadia for the basis of the Delta.”—*Rennell*.

“ Ptolemy assigns, as the confines of India on the west, the territory of the Paropamisadæ; the province of Arachosia, the modern Zablestan; and that of Gedrosia, at present denominated Mikran. These provinces, indeed, seem to be considered by Pliny, (lib. vi. c. 20.) rather as a part of the Indian than the Persian empire; to which he adds that of Aria, whose capital is the modern Herat.”—*Maurice's Indian Antiquities*, vol. i. pp. 151, 152.

those two great rivers, both of which have their sources in the mountains above mentioned. India *extra Gangem* comprehends the countries situated to the east of the Ganges, Thibet, Nepal, Boutan, Assam, Aracan, Ava, Siam, the islands of Java, Sumatra, and various other eastern islands. The Imaus, called by the Indians Himodhi,* meaning the receptacle of Snow, separated it on the north-east from the countries included under the general name of *Scythia extra Imaum*.†

“ India then on its most enlarged scale,

* By Europeans those mountains are sometimes written Himalaya.

The Emodus, &c. of the ancients, are those mountains which extend from the Ganges, above Sirinagur, to Cashmire.

† Pliny, speaking of the mountains we have mentioned, but beginning with those on the east, says:

“ Junguntur inter se Imaus, Emodus, Paropamisus, Caucasi partes, à quibus tota decurrit India in planitiem immensam et Egypto similem.”—*Plin. lib. vi. c. 17.*

See “ Recherches sur la Géographie Systematique et Positive des Anciens, &c. &c. par T. J. Gosselin, Paris, 1813.”

in which the ancients appear to have understood it, comprises an area of nearly forty degrees on each side, including a space almost as large as all Europe; being divided on the west from Persia, by the Arachosian mountains; bounded on the east by the Chinese part of the further peninsula; confined on the north by the wilds of Tartary, and extending to the south as far as the isles of Java. This trapezium, therefore, comprehends the stupendous hills of Potyid or Tibet, the beautiful valley of Cashmire, and all the domains of the old Indo-Scythians, the countries of Nepal and Boutan, Camrup or Assam, together with Siam, Ava, Racan, and the bordering kingdoms, as far as the China of the Hindūs, or Sin of the Arabian geographers; not to mention the whole western peninsula, with the celebrated island of Sinhala, or *Lion-like-men*,* at its southern extremity. By India, in short, we mean that whole extent of country in which the primitive religion and lan-

* Or rather Singh-Alaya, the abode of Lions.

guages of the Hindūs prevail at this day, with more or less of their ancient purity, and in which the Nagari letters are still used with more or less deviation from their original form.”*

The name *Hindūstan*, is composed of two Persian words, *Hindū* and *stan*, meaning the country of black people. This mode of derivation is very common with the Persians, as Dahæ-stan, Tabor-stan, Curd-stan, Moghol-stan; but whatever may have been the origin of Hindū-stan, it was the name given to the part of the peninsula first known to the Persians. At present Hindūstan proper, means only the region extending from the mountains on the north,

* Sir William Jones.

M. Langlès observes to the author: “Ceci est rigoureusement vrai pour l’ordre alphabétique et pour le système syllabique, qui sont les mêmes chez toutes les nations citées par l’auteur; mais plusieurs de ces nations, telles que les Chingulais, les Javans, les Siamois, les Mongols, les Mantchous, &c. ont des caractères où il seroit difficile de reconnoître quelques formes du Dêva-Nâgary, mais qui sont rangés suivant l’ordre et le système de ce dernier alphabet.”

down to about the twenty-second degree of latitude, where the river Narbudda flows : the country southward from thence is named Deckan or Dakhina, meaning south. The name Indus used by the Greeks, has been continued by modern authors,* but the proper name in Sanscrit, is Sindhou, though it be vulgarly pronounced Sind, and Sindhy.† One of the names of this country also, is *Bharat*, from an ancient sovereign whose dominions were so extensive, as, in the hyperbolical language of the east, to obtain for him the title of King of the World.‡

In this immense empire, were many great Rajahs, or hereditary princes, who acknowledged the Mahah, or great Rajah, as their supreme chief, or *Liege Lord*; but

* Pliny says : “ Indus ab incolis Sindus appellatus.” Lib. vi. c. 23. (edit. Bipont.)

† Translation of the Heetopades, p. 333.

‡ “ Quant aux indigènes qui sont absolument étrangers à la discussion que nous venons d’aborder, ils nomment leur pays Bhârata-Khanda, pays de Bhârata, un de leurs anciens souverains.”—See *Notice Géographique, sur l’Hindoustan*, par M. Langlès, p. 6.

who, in the internal government of their territories, were independent sovereigns. Some of those princes were nominated to different great offices of the state; and, if called upon, were obliged at a festival named *Rajasuya*, or royal sacrifice, to attend the *Mahah Rajah*, and serve in their respective offices.* In the territories of these, as well as in the immediate territories of the *Mahah Rajah*, were also numerous hereditary nobles, who paid tribute, and were bound to military service to their respective chiefs. Numbers of such nobles, notwithstanding all the changes India has undergone, exist in these days.

Many great cities are mentioned, both by native and by Greek authors; but the capital, or chief place of residence of the *Mahah Rajah*, or great prince, has not yet been ascertained. Some have supposed it to have been *Oujein*, a city of great antiquity, and which answers in name and position to the *Ozene* of Ptolemy, who calls

* See the *Ayeen Akbery*, vol. ii. p. 89. 4to edit.

it the capital and royal residence of Tiastanus. The ruins of numerous other great cities have been discovered in different parts of the empire. Taxila, situated where Attock now stands, on the eastern bank of the Indus, and where Alexander crossed that river, was the capital of the country lying between the Indus and Hydaspes, or Behut. Lahore appears to have been the capital of Porus, prince of the country named the Punjab, lying between the Hydaspes and Hesudrus, or Setlege. Palibothra, to which place Megasthenes was sent as ambassador by Seleucus Nicator, to Sandrocotus,* was the capital of the Prasii. This city, said to have been eighty stadia, or ten miles in length, and fifteen stadia, or about two miles in breadth, is supposed by Major Rennell to have been situated where Patna now stands; which, he says, was anciently named by the Hindūs Patelpoother, but according to Sir William Jones, Pataliputra. But Canoge, supposed to be the Ca-

* See note A, in Appendix.

linapaxa, or Calinipaxa of Pliny,—which is situated on the right bank of the Ganges, near the spot where the Calini or Calinuddy river joins it, and which was founded about 1000 years before our æra,—is said by Ferishta to have once been the capital of those regions. The Indian histories are full of accounts of the grandeur of this city, and even in the sixth century of our æra, when it had greatly declined from its former populousness, wealth, and magnificence, it was said to contain 30,000 shops, in which betel-nut was sold.* Gour called also Lucknouti, supposed to be the Gangia Regia of Ptolemy, stood on the left bank of the Ganges, about twenty-five miles below Rajemahal; no part of the site of ancient Gour, however, is now nearer to the present bank of the Ganges than four miles; and some parts of it, which are said to have been originally washed by that river, are

* The *betel* or *arrék* nut, with the leaf of an aromatic plant, named generally Pahn, is almost universally chewed by the natives of India.

now twelve miles from it; but such deviations of rivers from their original course are of frequent occurrence.* Rennell, from the authority of Dow, says, that about 730 years before Christ, it was the capital of Bengal; and, as it appears to have been situated in the dominions of the prince called by the Greeks Sandrocotus, who had usurped the government, it is possible that he may have removed his residence from Gour to Palibothra; or, it is possible that the seat of government may have been changed by his predecessors for reasons with which we are unacquainted. Gour was in some degree restored by Akber, in A.D. 1575, but is now in ruins.—“In taking the extent of these at the most moderate calculation,” says Rennell, “it is not less than fifteen miles in length along the old bank of the Ganges, and from two to three in

* “However, a small stream that communicates with the Ganges now runs by its west side, and is navigable during the rainy season. On the east side it has the Mahanada river, which is always navigable, and communicates with the Ganges.”—*Rennell*.

breadth. Several villages stand on part of its site; the remainder is either covered with thick forests, the habitations of tigers and other beasts of prey; or become arable land, whose soil is chiefly composed of brick-dust." We are told by Ferishta that it was deserted on account of the general unhealthiness of its air, which, perhaps, may have been occasioned by the change of the course of the river; but Rennell says that the present inhabitants informed him that it had been deserted during a pestilence, and had not again been peopled.*

* "The principal ruins now to be seen, are a mosque lined with black marble, elaborately wrought; and two gates of the citadel, which are strikingly grand and lofty. These fabrics, and some few others, appear to owe their duration to the nature of their materials, which are less marketable, and more difficult to separate, than those of the ordinary brick buildings, which have been, and continue to be, an article of merchandize; and are transported to Moorsshedabad, Mauldah, and other places, for the purpose of building. These bricks are of the most solid texture of any I ever saw; and have preserved the sharpness of their edges, and smoothness of their surfaces, through a series of ages.

It is not, indeed, impossible that all the three places, Gour, Canoge, and Palibothra, may have been occasionally, or at different periods, used as capitals of the Prasii, as we have known both Agra and Dehly to have been of Hindūstan during the last two centuries. But Ayódhyá, which was situated near the present site of Fyzabad, is supposed to have been the chief city of all those parts of India, before any of the above mentioned places. Sir William Jones, in speaking of Audh, or Ayódhyá,

The situation of Gour was highly convenient for the capital of Bengal and Bahar, as united under one government, being nearly centrical with respect to the populous parts of those provinces, and near the junction of the principal rivers that compose that extraordinary inland navigation, for which those provinces are famed; and, moreover, secured by the Ganges and other rivers, on the only quarter from which Bengal has any cause for apprehension.”—*Rennell*.

The mosque was probably raised by Akber, the other buildings may have been of much more ancient date. We find in Stewart's account of Bengal, that Gour was the capital of a Mohammedan dynasty two centuries before Akber.

says, that according to the reports of the Brahmins, it extended over a line of ten Yojans, or about forty miles; and that the present city of Lachnau, or Lucnow, was only a suburb, called Lacshmanadwara, or the gate of Lacshman, brother of Rama.*

Though Pythagoras, it is said, had visited India; and though, from what has been transmitted to us of his doctrines, it is evident that many of them must have been borrowed from the Hindūs, yet the Greeks, before the expedition of Alexander, had but little knowledge of India, or its inhabitants. All that is to be found in Herodotus, is extremely vague and unsatisfactory. Before his time, the Persians, it appears, had not only subdued some of the

* Asiat. Res. vol. i. p. 259.

The extent given to this city in the Ayeen Akbery, is fabulous: but it is there said, (and it probably may be true) that it was the largest city in Hindūstan, and esteemed one of the most sacred places of antiquity. "In the Tereetah Joug it was the residence of Rajah Ramchund, who enjoyed the two-fold office of King and Prophet."—See the *Ayeen Akbery*, vol. ii. p. 41.

Indian provinces to the west of the Indus ; but had also obliged some of the princes, whose territories lay along the eastern side of that river, to pay them tribute. The Indian conquered provinces on the west of the Indus, and the power of collecting the tribute from the others, formed the twentieth Satrapy of the Persian Empire. And we are told by Herodotus that Darius Hystaspes,* who, it appears, had crossed the Indus in person about 180 years before Alexander, sent Scylax, of Caryanda, to explore the Indus and the countries contiguous to it, as Alexander afterwards sent Nearchus.†

* The fifth sovereign of the Kyanian Dynasty of Persia.

† Mr. Maurice, in his *Indian Antiquities*, announces the opinion that Darius and Zoroaster had both visited India, secretly. We shall in substance quote the passage :—"The principal fire temple and usual place of residence of Zoroaster, and of his royal protector Darius Hystaspes, was at Balkh, the capital of Bactria. Stationed so near the country of the Brachmans, this bold and judicious reformer would hardly fail of visiting them. In reality we are told, by one of the later

From the intelligence supplied by the early Greek and Latin authors, we find that the same religion, laws, manners, and

historians of the Roman empire, that Hystaspes himself, and most probably not unattended by the illustrious Archimagus, did personally penetrate into the secluded regions of Upper India, in disguise, and that he was there instructed by the Brachmans in the principles of the mathematics, astronomy, and the pure rites of sacrifice. That part of India which Hystaspes visited was, doubtless, Cashmire, where, in all probability, the genuine religion of Brahma flourished longest without adulteration.”—*Indian Antiq.* vol. ii. pp. 125 and 126.

The author he refers to, is Ammianus Marcellinus, a native of Antioch, who settled at Rome in the beginning of the fifth century of the Christian *Æra*. He is considered as an impartial writer. The passage referred to by Mr. Maurice is as follows :

“Hystaspes, qui quum superioris Indiæ secreta fidentius penetraret, ad nemorosam quandam venerat solitudinem, cujus tranquillis silentiis præcelsa Bracmanorum ingenia potiuntur; eorumque monitu rationes mundani motus et siderum, purosque sacrorum ritus, quantum colligere potuit, eruditus, ex his quæ didicit, aliqua sensibus magorum infudit: quæ illi cum disciplinis præsentendi futura, per suam quisque progeniem posteris ætatibus tradunt.—*Ammian. Marcell. lib. xxiii. c. 6.*

Mr.

customs, existed amongst the people of India, at the time they first obtained any knowledge of them, which at present exist and are practised by them: but, from the more accurate and extensive information that has been obtained of late years, we shall find it established beyond a doubt, that the Hindūs were a polished and refined people, while the inhabitants of Greece were in a state of barbarism, that is, long before Egyptian or Phenician adventurers had visited their country.

The learning and sciences of the Hindūs, and the affinity which appears to exist between their mythology and that of the Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans, began in the course of the last century to occupy the attention of several literati in different countries of Europe:* but all the informa-

Mr. Langlès in his notes to the tenth volume of his edition of Chardin's travels, has endeavoured to prove that the religious and political institutions of the Hindūs and Prasii were the same.

* See five Memoirs by the Abbé Mignot, in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*,

tion acquired from the relations of modern travellers and missionaries, from Marco Paolo downward, though in many particulars faithful, was still too obscure and sometimes too contradictory, to enable them to form any just opinion on the subject. The voyage published in 1779 by Monsieur Le Gentil,* who was sent by the French government to Pondicherry, to observe the transit of Venus over the disk of the sun, and a subsequent voyage by Monsieur Sonnerat,† afforded more certain grounds of information in regard to the Indian astronomy, than Europeans had before obtained; a subject which was afterwards more fully illustrated in the “ *Histoire de*

vol. xxxi. Three Memoirs of M. de Guignes, in the same work, vol. xl; and various other works that, previous to the time I have mentioned, appeared in France, England, and other countries.

* Voyage dans les Mers de l'Inde, fait par ordre du Roi, à l'occasion du Passage de Venus sur le Disque du Soleil.

† Voyage aux Indes Orientales et à la Chine. Paris, 1782.

l'Astronomie Indienne et Orientale," by the late learned M. Bailly.* Yet it is within little more than these thirty years past, that really authentic proofs have been procured, of the political state and learning in general, of the Indians in the remote ages we have alluded to. Till then, the want of a complete knowledge of the Sanscrit, with numerous other circumstances, obstructed inquiry; happily those obstacles have since been removed.

The conquests of the Mohammedans were not merely suggested by ambition, but excited by the wish of propagating their doctrines, which was exercised with fanatic fury. Every true Musalmān thought it a pious duty to subdue infidels, and force them to adopt his faith. The subversion of the Hindū religion was considered as a sacred obligation, the execution of which might sometimes be suspended from political motives, or modified by the disposition of particular chiefs, but it was never renounc-

* Published at Paris, in 1787.

ed; and notwithstanding instances of toleration that may be produced, as during the reign of that enlightened prince, Akber, and some of his successors, it is evident that the Hindūs were ever regarded by the Mohammedans in general, with abhorrence and contempt.* The practices of those invaders naturally inspired the natives with suspicions of their subsequent English rulers. The Brahmins, sole depositories of the Hindū laws and doctrines, were also

* The desire of converting all the inhabitants of Hindūstan, seems to have excited Tippoo Sultan to the projects which terminated so fatally for him, even more than his inveteracy to the English, or his desire of encreasing his dominions. In his correspondence with Zimman Shah, king of Cabul, and other Mohammedan princes, which was found in the palace of Seringapatam after the capture of the place, this appears to be the grand object he had in view; and he speaks of the destruction of the English but as a measure necessary to accomplish it. In the countries conquered by him, and even in Mysore, he caused many Hindūs to be forcibly circumcised. His father Hyder Alī, on the contrary, left his subjects to practise the doctrines in which they were educated, or which they voluntarily chose to adopt.

the sole interpreters of them. Some endeavours to obtain information on those subjects, had not only proved fruitless, but had even tended to encrease the distrust of the Brahmins, and with that, their caution and reserve. Mr. Hastings on being appointed Governor-General of the British possessions in India, made it an object of his particular attention, to remove their fears. He wished to obtain precise information of their institutions. He was not excited to this by mere curiosity, but, by the more laudable motive of acquiring means for better discharging the duties of his important station, in promoting the welfare of the people at large. He enjoyed the advantage of knowing the Persian and Hindūstane languages; and in the course of some personal conferences with the principal Brahmins, he succeeded in gaining their approbation to what he proposed. A compilation of a code of Hindū laws, by Pundits convened for the purpose; a Persian version of it made under their inspection; a translation from that

into English, by Mr. Halhed, and one of the Bhagvat-Geeta, from the Sanscrit language, by Mr. (now Dr.) C. Wilkins, were all executed and published under his patronage.* The work thus begun by Mr. Hastings, was successfully prosecuted under the auspices of the late Sir William Jones, who had early been distinguished at Oxford, not only for his taste and knowledge in Greek and Roman literature, but also for his knowledge of the languages and history of the East. To attain the objects proposed, it was necessary for him to call to his aid the united efforts of all who were qualified and disposed to join with him in his labours. He therefore devised an institution, declared to be on the plan of the Royal Society of London. This institution, sanctioned by government, met for the first time in January, 1784, when it was resolved, as a just tribute of respect to the Go-

* The Bhagvat-Geeta is the first work, I believe, that was ever translated from Sanscrit into any European language.

vernor-General, to solicit his acceptance of the title of President; but Mr. Hastings, having desired *leave to resign his pretensions to the person whose genius had planned the institution, and who was the most capable of conducting it to the attainment of the great purposes of its formation*, Sir William Jones was unanimously requested to accept that office. At the next meeting of the Society, he in his capacity of President, unfolded the subjects proposed for its inquiries; and the mode of pronouncing a discourse by the President at the first meeting in each year, relative to what had already been done and what was proposed as subjects of future inquiry, has been continued.* To be able to execute what he had in view, he began assiduously to study the Sanscrit, and from his extraordinary facility in learning languages, he in an astonishingly short space of time, attained a complete know-

* See Asiatic Researches, or Transactions of the Society at Calcutta.

ledge of it.* Aided by the Governor-General, but above all by his own conciliatory manners, and the opinion universally entertained of the purity of his conduct and intentions, the Pundits at last, instead of withholding information from him, became assiduous in assisting him. Hence he finally procured an acquaintance with those writings which had hitherto been so carefully concealed from the public.

* Lord Teignmouth, author of his *Memoirs*, informs us, that in a note, in Jones's hand-writing, found amongst his papers, twenty-eight languages are mentioned as having been studied by him.

“Eight (says he) critically : English, French, Italian, Latin, Greek, Arabic, Persian, Sanscrit.

“Eight studied less perfectly, but all intelligible with a dictionary.

“Twelve least perfectly, but all attainable;” and amongst these we find the Tibetan, Pâli, Phalavi, Deri, Syriac, Ethiopic, Coptic, and Chinese.

Dr. Wilkins himself, so celebrated an orientalist, calls Jones *the Oracle* of Oriental learning.—See *Preface to a Sanscrit Grammar*, published by Dr. Wilkins in London, 1808.

The Courts of Law in the British dominions in India, were commanded, by an act of the legislature, to decide controversies between Hindū and Mohammedan parties, according to their respective laws of contracts and of succession. That the courts might be competent to do so, Sir William Jones undertook to form a digest of those laws, from the original Sanscrit and Arabic, which he accordingly accomplished, being assisted therein by a venerable Pundit named Trivédi Servoru Sarman, and a learned Musalmān, Maulavi Casim. Two notes written to him by those persons when the work was terminated, the one in Sanscrit, the other in Arabic, are strongly expressive of their profound respect for him.*

In the beginning of 1794, very shortly before his death, he published a translation of the *Ordinances of Menu, comprising the Indian system of duties, religious and civil.*

* See Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Sir William Jones, vol. ii. p. 307.

Menu is considered by the Hindūs as a sacred lawgiver.

“ In the eleven discourses which he addressed to the Asiatic Society, on the history, civil and natural, the antiquities, arts, sciences, philosophy, and literature of Asia, and on the origin and families of nations, he has discussed the subjects which he professed to explain, with a perspicuity which delights and instructs, and in a style which never ceases to please.”*

* Memoirs of his life, vol. ii. p. 266.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE CREATION—THE LAWS, AND INSTITUTES OF MENU.

THE candid translator of the Laws of Menu, observes in his preface to them,* that though many blemishes are to be found in these laws, as *containing a system of despotism and priestcraft, both, indeed, limited by law, but artfully conspiring to give mutual support though with mutual checks—*“nevertheless, a spirit of sublime devotion, of benevolence to mankind, and of amiable tenderness to all sentient creatures,

* Sir William Jones's Works, vol. vii. p. 88. Mr. Colebrooke has since translated from the Sanscrit a Digest of the Hindū Laws, it was published first at Calcutta, and afterwards at London, in 1802, in three volumes in 8vo.

pervades the whole work; the style of it has a certain austere majesty, that sounds like the language of legislation, and extorts a respectful awe; the sentiments of independence on all beings but God, and the harsh admonitions even to kings, are truly noble, and the many panegyrics on the Gayatri, the Mother, as it is called, of the Veda, prove the author to have adored not the visible material sun, but *that divine and incomparably greater light*, to use the words of the most venerable text in the Indian scripture, *which illumines all, delights all, from which all proceed, to which all must return, and which alone can irradiate our intellects.*"*

* Jones.

Some persons have suggested the idea that the Hindū and Cretan lawgivers were perhaps the same person, and that Minos is a Greek corruption of Menu; and hence they fix the existence of the latter only about 1500 years before our æra; but, were this hypothesis even admitted, we must allow many ages before that, as necessary to bring an immensely extensive and numerous nation to such a polished and flourishing state,

It is supposed that certain sages having addressed Menu, requesting him to apprise them of the sacred laws, he began with speaking of the CREATION as follows :

“ Be it heard !

“ This universe existed only in the first divine idea yet unexpanded, as if involved in darkness, imperceptible, undefinable, undiscoverable by reason, and undiscovered by revelation, as if it were wholly immersed in sleep :

“ Then the sole self-existing power, himself undiscerned, but making this world

as those very laws prove the Hindū nation to have attained at the time they were framed. Besides, I am at a loss to conceive what is intended by saying that the Indian and Cretan lawgivers were *one and the same person*. If a Cretan had knowledge of the laws of Menu, he may have borrowed from them ; he may also have borrowed his name, though we confess not to discover any strong analogy between them ; nothing shews that they lived about the same epoch ; and if we suppose that the Hindūs adopted the Cretan laws, we must deny all that is known of their civil and religious history and institutions.

discernible, with five elements* and other principles of nature, appeared with undiminished glory, expanding his idea, or dispelling the gloom.

“ He, whom the mind alone can perceive, whose essence eludes the external organs, who has no visible parts, who exists from eternity, even He, the soul of all beings, whom no being can comprehend, shone forth.

“ He, having willed to produce various beings from his own divine substance, first with a thought created the waters, and placed in them a productive seed :

“ That seed became an egg,† bright as

* The fifth element with the Hindūs, we believe, is what we understand by ether.

† In the verses ascribed to Orpheus, it is said that God having produced a large egg, broke it, and that from it came out the heavens and the earth. The same allegory was made use of by Pythagoras, to whom some ancient authors attribute the laws that others give to Orpheus. The Orphæ, though the name be taken from the latter, were followers of the doctrines of Pytha-

gold, blazing like the luminary with a thousand beams; and in that egg was born the form of Brahmá, the great forefather of all spirits.

“ The waters are called *nára*, because they were the production of Nara, or the spirit of God; and since they were his first *ayana*, or place of motion, he thence is named *Naráyana*, or moving on the waters.

“ From *that which is*, the first cause, not the object of sense existing every where in substance, not existing to our perception, without beginning or end, was produced

goras. Their title implied a pure devout life, free from violence. They abstained from eating any animal food, or eggs, as the Brahmins and devout persons in India have done from the remotest ages. In the orgies of Bacchus, the egg was consecrated and held in veneration as a symbol of the world, and of *him who contains every thing within himself*. “ *Consule initiatos Liberi patris in quibus hac veneratione ovum colitur, ut ex formâ tereti ac penè sphærali atque undique versum clausâ, et includente intra se vitam, mundi simulachrum vocetur.*”—*Macrobius Saturn.* vii. c. 16. (tom. ii. p. 275. ed. Bipont.)

the divine male, famed in all worlds under the appellation of *Brahmá*.

“ In the egg the great power sat inactive a whole year *of the Creator*, at the close of which by his thought alone he caused the egg to divide itself;

“ And from its two divisions he framed the heavens above, and the earth beneath : in the midst he placed the subtle ether, the eight regions, and the permanent receptacle of waters.”

Then after recapitulating the different created things, it is said :

“ He (meaning *Brahmá*) whose powers are incomprehensible, having thus created this universe, was again absorbed in the Supreme Spirit, changing the time of energy for the time of repose.”

“ He having enacted this code of laws, himself taught it fully to me in the beginning ; afterwards I taught it *Maríchi* and the nine other holy sages.

“ My son *Bhrīgu* will repeat the divine code to you without omission ; for that sage learned from me to recite the whole of it.

“ Bhrīgu, great and wise, having thus been appointed by Menu to promulge his laws, addressed all the Rīshis with an affectionate mind, saying : ‘ Hear!’

“ From this Menu, named Sway'-ambhuva, or *Sprung from the self-existing*, came six descendants, other Menus, or *perfectly understanding the scripture*, each giving birth to a race of his own, all exalted in dignity, eminent in power, &c. &c.”*

The Laws of Menu are divided into eight chapters, the contents of which are : 1st. On the Creation. 2nd. On Education. 3rd. On Marriage. 4th. On Economics and Morals. 5th. On Diet, Purification, and Women. 6th. On Devotion. 7th. On Government and on the Military Class. 8th. On Judicature and Law, both civil and criminal,—but which appear to be only a digest of others already in practice,

* “ Ces Menous sont les mêmes que les Mahabad des anciens Persans.” Observation by M. Langlès. See the notes, and *Notice Chronologique*, in the tenth volume of his edition of Chardin's travels.

correcting and extending them according to present circumstances.

The inviolability of a Brahmin, is a fixed principle in the Hindū legislation : it is ordained by law, and sanctified by religion : to deprive him of life, either by direct violence, or by causing his death in any other manner, is a crime which cannot be expiated. The person of the sovereign is also declared sacred.

“ It is confessed on all hands that Hindū policy, both civil and religious, favours population, agriculture, and commerce.”*

“ It may be objected, that a tribe of military forms one part of the Hindū system; and that war implies oppression. Against this, however, the same code provides a remedy. The produce of the field, the work of the artisan, the city without walls, and the defenceless village, are declared sacred and inviolable.† Those only who

* Vincent, vol. i. p. 82.

† “ Strabo, lib. xv.—Diod. Sic. lib. ii.—Paolino.—See also Arrian.”

used the sword, were to perish by the sword.”* Nor did the order of priesthood produce obstruction to population; marriage in that class seems not only to have been admitted, but ordained. “A Brahmin cannot retire to the woods, that is to say, become Hylobius, or Jogee, till he has given children to the community.”†

In the Laws of Menu we find regulations respecting interest on money, with a considerable latitude to those who lend it on *bottomry*, or adventures by sea. Previously to obtaining a knowledge of those laws, and other ancient Hindū writings, the

* Vincent.

† The practice of exposing children to sale, legalised anciently in Greece, and still practised in China, Dr. Vincent observes, never existed in India. In Greece, says he, “a parent was allowed to expose every child; in China he may dispose of every female and every third male. This is a system that seems never to have entered into the conception of Indian legislators, civil or religious.”—*Vincent*, vol. i. p. 85, and note to that page.

remotest mention that we had of money, was in the Scriptures : but if we admit the Laws of Menu to have existed at the dates generally allowed to them, and when various circumstances tend to shew they were in use, we shall find that not only the precious metals were employed as a medium of purchase, many centuries before their being first spoken of in that light in Jewish history, but that maritime commerce also was then practised in India. It seems to be almost universally allowed, that the knowledge of arts and sciences originated in, or was brought from India into more western nations ; admitting this, we must allow time for their progress, and consequently conclude that the Hindūs practised them long before the Hebrews.

Though circumstances are found to induce the belief, that the Hindūs at a most remote period employed *money* or current coins for purchase and hire, yet I have never heard of any Hindū coins of sufficient antiquity to support such belief. In the

Memoirs of the Asiatic Society, we have *fac-similes* of ancient inscriptions on silver and copper tablets, but it does not appear in those Memoirs that the subject of ancient Hindū money had yet occupied the attention of the society. Mr. Chambers, indeed, in his description of the ruins of Mahabalipoor or Mavalipuram, says: “ It is much to be regretted, that a blind zeal, attended with a total want of curiosity, in the Mohammedan governors of this country, have been so hostile to the preservation of Hindū monuments and coins.—The *Kauzy* of Madras, who had often occasion to go to a place in the neighbourhood of Mahabalipoor, assured the writer of this account, that within his remembrance, a ryot (husbandman) of those parts had found, in ploughing his ground, a pot of gold and silver coins, with characters on them which no one in those parts, Hindū or Mohammedan, was able to decypher. He added, however, that all search for them would now be vain, for they had doubtless been long ago devoted to the crucible, as, in

their original form, no one there thought them of any value.”*

It is said that in Nepaul, Boutan, Assam, and Thibet, where Mohammedan conquerors never established themselves, ancient coins are met with, bearing Sanscrit inscriptions on them. And in the description given of the ruins of the city of Oujein, that was buried under ground about 1800 years ago by an earthquake, we are told that ancient coins are found both in digging among the ruins and in the channels cut by the periodical rains.†

In the Laws of Menu, *money* is frequently referred to. In the article on marriages, when inculcating on those of a superior order the necessity of having due respect for their rank, it is said, “ by culpable marriages great families are sunk to a low state: so they are by practising manual arts, by lending at interest and other pe-

* See Asiat. Res. vol. i. p. 158.

† Narrative of a journey from Agra to Oujein, Asiat. Reg. vol. vi. p. 36.

cuniary transactions.”*—In the chapter of economics and morals, when speaking of the Brahmins, it is said: “ traffic and money lending, are *satyanrita*; but service for hire is named *swavritti* or *dog-living*, and of course they must by all means avoid it.”†

In the chapter on government and the military class, when speaking of persons fit to be employed by the sovereign in different capacities, after describing those worthy of his confidence, and proper to be consulted, it is added :

“ He must likewise appoint other officers, men of integrity, well informed, steady, habituated to gain wealth by honourable means, and tried by experience.

“ As many officers as the due performance of his business requires, not slothful men, but active, able, and well instructed; so many and no more let him appoint.

“ Among those let him employ the brave,

* Sir Wm. Jones's Works, vol. vii. p. 163.

† Ibid. vol. vii. p. 203.

the skilful, the well-born, and the honest, in his mines of gold or gems, and in other similar works for amassing wealth; but the pusillanimous, in the recesses of his palace.”*

In treating of military affairs, and in the ordinance regarding fortresses, money is mentioned amongst the articles with which they should be provided.

On hire for servitude, it is said :

“ One *pana* of copper must be given each day as wages to the lowest servant, with two cloths for apparel every half year, and a *drona* of grain every month.”†

In the chapter on government, taxes are spoken of, and from what is said on that subject, it appears that they were paid in what has been translated money :

“ Having ascertained the rates of purchase and sale, the length of the way, the expenses of food and of condiments, the charges of securing the goods carried, and

* Sir Wm. Jones's Works, vol. vii. p. 301.

† Ibid. vol. vii. p. 312.

the neat profits of trade, let the king oblige traders to pay taxes on their saleable commodities.

“ As the leech, the suckling calf, and the bee, take their natural food by little and little, thus must a king draw from his dominions an annual revenue.*

“ As men versed in cases of tolls, and acquainted with all marketable commodities, shall establish the price of saleable things, let the king take a twentieth part of the profit on sales.

“ Any seller or buyer, who fraudulently passes by the toll office at night, or any other improper time, or who makes a false enumeration of the articles bought, shall be fined eight times as much as their value.

“ Let the king establish rules for the sale and purchase of all marketable things, having duly considered whence they come, if imported; and if exported, whither they must be sent; how long they have been

* Sir Wm. Jones's Works, vol. vii. p. 312.

kept; what may be gained by them; and what has been expended on them.

“ At the close of every half month, according to the nature of the commodities, let the king make a regulation for market-prices in the presence of experienced men.

“ Let all weights and measures be well ascertained by him; and once in six months let him re-examine them.

“ The toll at a ferry is one *pana* of copper for an empty cart; half a *pana*, for a man with a load; a quarter, for a beast used in agriculture, or for a woman; and an eighth, for an unloaded man.

“ For a long passage, the freight must be proportioned to places and times; but this must be understood of passages up and down rivers: at sea there can be no settled freight.

“ Whatever shall be broken in a boat, by the fault of the boatmen, shall be made good by those men collectively, each paying his portion.

“ This rule, ordained for such as pass

rivers in boats, relates to the culpable neglect of boatmen on the water: in the case of inevitable accident, there can be no damages recovered.

“ The king should order each man of the mercantile class to practise trade, or money-lending.”*

From personal taxes of every kind, are exempted the blind, the lame, and all persons who may have attained the age of seventy years.

In the chapter on judicature and law, there are numerous rules respecting loans, which distinguish the nature of the loan, where there is risk, and cases where a pledge may be required by the lender; and it is observed, that to stipulate for interest beyond the legal rate, and different from the rules prescribed, is unlawful: where there is no risk, the legal interest is declared to be five on the hundred.

“ Whatever interest, or price of the risk,

* Sir Wm. Jones's Works, vol. vii. chapter on judicature, &c. p. 395.

shall be settled between the parties, by men well acquainted with sea-voyages, or journeys by land, with times and with places, such interest shall have legal force.”*

In the chapter on slander and abusive language, as well as on some other offences, fines proportioned to the degree of injury are ordained, at the same time mentioning the amount to be paid.

Among the offenders subject to punishment, are receivers of bribes, extorters of money by threats, debasers of metals, gamesters, impostors, and professors of palmistry; and the same chapter contains curious instructions for discovering cheats and preventing mischief, by means of spies and officers of police.

When treating of the duties of different classes, the institutes of Menu enact thus:—“ There are seven virtuous means of acquiring property: succession, occupancy or donation, and purchase or exchange, which are allowed to all classes;

* Sir Wm. Jones's Works, vol. vii. p. 356.

conquest, which is peculiar to the military class; lending at interest, husbandry, or commerce, which belong to the mercantile class; and acceptance of presents, by the sacerdotal class, from respectable men.

“Neither a priest nor a military man, though distressed, must receive interest on loans; but each of them, if he please, may pay the small interest permitted by law, on borrowing for some pious use, to the sinful man, who demands it.”*

In the *Ayeen Akbery* there are quotations from *Hindū* ordinances, relative to loans, charities, and fines, for offences, in which different species of what has been understood to be money, are mentioned by name.

But, after thus stating some of the arguments which may be adduced to support the belief that money, or regular current coin, was in use in India at that very remote period of its history, there are others which oppose it, and among these, a pas-

* Sir Wm. Jones's Works, vol. viii. pp. 76 and 77.

sage in Pausanias; who, after saying that money was not in use in Greece, at the time of the death of Polydorus, king of Lacedæmon, (that is about 720 years before our æra, and above 800 after the arrival in Greece of Cadmus, Danaus, and Cecrops) adds, that even in his own time, that is about the year 180 of our æra, *the people of India, though their country abounded in metals, had no money*;* and it is to be observed that Pausanias had great means of being informed on this point, by the extensive commerce then carried on by the Romans with India.

M. Sylvestre de Sacy, in a note which he obligingly communicated to the author, begins with the following observation of M. Chézy :

“ Le seul mot Sanskrit, à ma connoissance, qui signifie, tout à la fois, argent comme métal, et argent comme monnoie, est *roupiam*. Ce mot est employé dans les anciens livres des Indiens. Si, comme on

* Pausanias, Journey in Laconia, lib. iii. c. 12.

pourroit le croire, il est dérivé du mot *roupam*, figure, forme, on pourroit en induire que très-anciennement, aux Indes, l'argent recevoit une empreinte qui en déterminoit la valeur dans les échanges commerciaux."

" Note de M. Chézy."

M. de Sacy then proceeds :

" J'aurois peine à admettre cette conjecture, qui paroît contraire à la marche naturelle des idées.

" Les Egyptiens et les Syriens se servent communément des mots qui signifient l'argent comme métal, pour désigner la monnoie. Ensuite ils emploient des mots pris du Grec, les Syriens les mots *dinoro* et *daricouno*, les Coptes les mots *nomisma* et *sateri*. Cependant les Syriens, ainsi que les Chaldéens, ont les mots *zouz*, *zouza*, et *zouzo*, qui paroissent désigner une monnoie proprement dite, d'argent, et on les trouve aussi dans le dialecte des Samaritains. Mais il paroît douteux que ce mot soit d'origine Syrienne : il ne semble pas tenir à une racine Chaldaïque et Syriaque, et il

pourroit être Persan d'origine ; il pourroit venir du nom de la ville de Suse, *Zouzen*, comme Besans de *Byzantium*. Les Syriens et les Chaldéens ont encore un autre nom d'une sorte de monnoie, *zifla*, et par méatèse *zelafto* ; mais la vraie signification de ce mot est fort douteuse."

" S. de SACY."

In a letter to the author on the subject of ancient coins, particularly with the Hindūs, M. Langlès observes :

" Les Egyptiens n'avoient pas de monnoie de métal, et si les Hindous en eussent eu, ils n'auroient pas manqué d'emprunter d'eux cette découverte : au reste je doute de l'existence du système monétaire des anciens Hindous ; la langue Sanskrite n'a aucun synonyme pour le mot monnoie, pièce de monnoie ; je ne connois que le mot *rastjata* en Bengali, argent, métal, *roupa*, et *roupia* ; en effet les plus anciennes nations connues n'avoient point de monnoie. Le *Pana* et le *Drauna* des Hindous sont des poids, et non des monnoies ; et le texte Hébraïque du mot *Sikel*, ou *Sicle*,

ou Shequel, comme on l'écrit dans les langues modernes, est également un poids, comme l'indique la racine même qui signifie *peser*."

To these observations of M. Langlès, it may be added, that, in the Laws of Menu, where hire for servitude is mentioned, it is said *one pana of copper shall be given*; but if by *pana*, a coin were here meant, the word copper would be superfluous. We say, a penny, a shilling, a crown, a guinea; not a penny of copper, or a shilling or crown of silver, or a guinea of gold.

We find in the Scriptures, that 1860 years before our æra, Abraham having purchased a piece of ground for a burying place, weighed to Ephron for it, four hundred shekels of silver, current money with the merchants;* that 121 years afterwards, Jacob bought a parcel of a field where he had spread his tents, for a hundred pieces

* See Genesis, c. xxiii. In the translation of the Bible, the word *money* is employed.

of *money* ;* shortly after this, that Joseph was sold by his brethren to Midianite merchants going to Egypt, for twenty pieces of silver ;† and that Moses, about 1571 years before our æra, laid a poll-tax of one bekah, or half a selah or shekel, on every male, from twenty years and upwards, for the purpose of building the tabernacle.‡ Solomon, who began his reign 556 years afterwards, sent ships to Ophir,§ which

* Genesis, c. xxxiii. v. 19.

† Idem. c. xxxvii. And on the money, or silver given in payment by the Jews, see Otho Sperlingius, from c. vi. to c. xviii. inclusively.

‡ See Exodus, c. xxxviii. v. 25, 26. The tax according to Brerewood, amounted to eighteen pence English a head, which on 603,550, the number of males mentioned, makes for the whole 45,266 pounds, English money.

§ The Ophir of the Jews is supposed by Bruce, and others, to be the country named Sofala, on that part of the continent of Africa opposite to Madagascar. The ships of Solomon sailed from a place that was named Ezion-Geber, situated at the bottom of the Elanitic gulf; whence proceeding down the Red Sea, or Arabian gulf, they entered the Indian ocean. The voy-

brought back gold, silver, and ivory ;* and according to Josephus, the quantity of gold brought in one of those voyages, amounted to 450 talents, which, supposing the Jewish and Attic talent to be the same, would be equal in value to 1,485,000 pounds sterling.

In Assyria and Persia, money, or pieces of precious metals employed for purchase, must have been in use at least as early as among the Hebrews.

Paucton observes, that the *money* of the Hebrews, Egyptians, and people of Asia,

age, it is said, took up altogether three years, which, when contrasted with the present state of navigation, seems a wonderfully long space, even allowing for the time required to procure the commodities. This, with other circumstances, may have led to the conjecture, that the ships of Solomon visited India. Amongst the things brought back by them, apes and peacocks are mentioned (1 Kings, c. x. v. 22) : the former might be procured in Africa, but the peacock is properly an inhabitant of India, whence it was brought into other countries.—See *Buffon*, vol. xvii. p. 288. 4°. *Impr. Roy.*

* 1 Kings, c. x. v. 22.

was the same ; but as he does not speak of the money of India, we presume that he means by *Asia*, only the countries included anciently under the names of Assyria and Persia ; and if reliance may be placed on what is alleged by him, we might suppose that Assyrian coins may have been taken by antiquarians for Egyptian.*

The Thebaid possessed valuable mines of gold and silver. Diodorus Siculus, describing the mausoleum of a king whom he names Osymandyas, says, that by an inscription on one of the walls of that building, it appeared, that the money procured annually from those mines amounted to 32,000,000 Minæ of Grecian money ; that the treasure, left by another king whom he names Cetes, was estimated at one hundred thousand talents by the public ; and he describes the procedure observed by the Egyptians in refining metals. Speaking of Diospolis or Thebes, and the devastations Cambyes committed there,

* See Paucton, *Métrologie*, &c. p. 342.

he says, it was however supposed, that more than three hundred talents of gold, and two thousand three hundred talents of silver were saved from pillage and the flames. The same author, when mentioning the manner of embalming dead bodies, observes, that the first manner cost a talent of silver, the second twenty minæ; and what is still stronger than all the other passages which we have quoted from him, we find,* that by the criminal laws of Egypt, those who counterfeited, or falsified *money*, were punished by having their hands cut off.

Pliny speaks of the Egyptian talent at the time of Cyrus, that is, above 200 years before the expedition of Alexander, and 527 before our æra.† Brerewood says, “Cyrus, devictâ Asiâ, reportavit argenti 500,000 talenta Ægyptiaca, seu Majora

* Diod. Sic. lib. i. c. 27.

† See Plin. lib. xxxiii. c. 3.—and Brerewood, p. 30.

Attica. Quod de nostro facit 125,000,000 Lib. Stg.”*

Winkelmann, when treating of the arts amongst the Egyptians,† says, “ Les monnoies, connues chez les Egyptiens, ne commencent qu’après le règne d’Alexandre. On pourroit même douter que les Egyptiens eussent jamais eu de la monnoie battue, s’il n’en étoit pas fait mention chez les écrivains de l’antiquité, qui parlent entre autres de l’obole qu’on mettoit dans la bouche des morts;”—but after making this observation, he leaves the subject without giving any positive opinion upon it.‡

Carlo Fea, in a note on this passage of Winkelmann,§ observes that Maillet in his description of Egypt, says, that money is found there, and sometimes in great quan-

* See Brerewood, p. 30.

† See *Histoire de l’Art chez les Anciens*, par Winkelmann; traduit de l’Allemand; Paris, 1802, tom. i. p. 192.

‡ Ibid.

§ Ibid.

tities after rains. But on referring to Maillet, I find that neither this, nor any other part of his work furnishes any light to the subject—all he says, is: “On tire de l’Égypte un assez grand nombre de médailles; mais il y en a peu de bonnes. Dans certains tems, elles se trouvent abondamment. Il y en a d’autres, au contraire, où l’on n’en voit point du tout. On trouve aussi à Alexandrie, surtout en hiver lorsqu’il a plu, certaines pierres gravées représentant diverses figures de femmes et d’animaux.”* But the money mentioned by him, may be Greek, Roman, or any other coin.

Pieces of gold found in the mouths of *mummies*, exist in several cabinets of Europe;† but as they have no effigy or in-

* See Description de l’Égypte composée sur les Mémoires de M. de Maillet, Ancien Consul de France au Caire, par M. l’Abbé de Maserier, tom. ii. p. 38. Paris, 1735.

† There is one to be seen in the collection of medals in the Royal Library at Paris.

scription on them, and as Fea observes, *ressemblent à peu-près à une feuille de bruyère*, they may be taken as an argument to prove that the Egyptians had no regular coin.

The period, when money first began to be in use with the Greeks, cannot, I believe, be positively ascertained. Had we not proofs to the contrary, it might have been presumed to have been introduced among them in the early part of their intercourse with the Phenicians; but (as I have already observed) Pausanias positively asserts, that, above 800 years after the arrival of Danaus and Cadmus, it was unknown in Greece: he says, that the widow of Polidorus, king of Sparta, who died in the first year of the fifteenth Olympiad, about 720 years before our æra, having sold the house of her late husband, the price was paid in cattle; for, *at that time, the use of gold and silver money was unknown, and what was wanted was procured by giving in barter one commodity for another, as cattle, slaves,*

*and pieces of unwrought gold and silver.** But if, at the time Cadmus left Phenicia about 1550 years before our æra, money had been in use there, he would hardly have neglected to introduce it into Greece, which certainly would have been a much easier operation than the introduction of the Phenician alphabet, which is attributed to him; his not doing so may be considered as a proof that it did not exist in Phenicia at the time he left it; and that the money spoken of by ancient authors, was nothing more than pieces of metals, and not what we understand by the word *money* or *coin*. Previously to its being invented, and brought into circulation, the giving of commodities in exchange for others, or in payment of service, must have been practised by all nations. The comparative value of different articles seems to have been regulated;† and the learned Cheva-

* See Pausanias, lib. iii. c. 12.

† Ibid.—Iliad, lib. ii. v. 449, and lib. vi. v. 236.—Genesis, c. xxxiii. v. 19.

lier Visconti supposes this to be the origin of primitive coins having the effigy of the ox or sheep on them. He says: "Avant l'invention de la monnoie, on faisoit souvent en nombre de bœufs ou de brebis l'évaluation des denrées ou des objets manufacturés. Nous trouvons dans l'Iliade des évaluations à cent bœufs et a neuf bœufs, (lib. ii. v. 449 et lib. vi. v.236) et dans le Genese une évaluation en agneaux (Genese, c. xxxiii. v. 19). En conséquence il n'est pas hors des convenances d'avoir représenté sur une pièce d'argent ou de bronze la figure de l'animal dont cette pièce devoit être un équivalent. Nous ne pouvons pas nous refuser à reconnoître un grand nombre de monnoies d'argent de la plus haute antiquité, ayant pour type la figure ou la demie-figure d'un bœuf. Nous la retrouvons sur quelques médailles des Chalcédoniens, qui suivant l'usage des premiers tems du monnayage n'ont de type que d'un seul côté; nous la retrouvons aussi sur des médailles du même genre qui par leurs types sont attribuées aux Epirotes et aux Macé-

doniens; nous retrouvons enfin la partie antérieure d'un bœuf sur de belles médailles de Samos, qui par le style de l'art, semblent dater de la plus haute antiquité. En voilà assez pour rendre compte de quelques expressions des Grecs, où le mot *bœuf* fait allusion à une monnoie.* Passons à la brebis des monnoies Romaines, et au mot *pecunia* dérivé de *pecus*.

“ Pline en faisant allusion à cette étymologie, dit que le Roi Servius Tullius *ovium boumque effigie primus aes signavit* : Varron, Cicéron, Ovide, Plutarque, sans nommer Servius, sont d'accord sur ce type des monnoies de bronze les plus anciennes. Eckhel a de bonnes raisons pour ne pas croire que le type d'une brebis a été empreint sur les monnoies Romaines primitives. Il oppose à ces autorités d'autres autorités qui prouvent que la tête de Janus et un Navire ont été les véritables types de ces monnoies; ce

* When a person was supposed to have received a bribe for silence, it was said that an ox prevented his tongue from moving.

qui nous est confirmé par les *as* Romains qui nous restent. Quant au mot *pecunia*, il le dérive de l'usage que nous avons indiqué, et que l'on faisoit alors des animaux compris sous la dénomination générale de *pecus* dans l'évaluation et dans les échanges des denrées. Je crois qu'il ne se trompe pas par rapport aux monnoies de bronze frappées par les Romains; mais d'ailleurs on ne peut pas contester que le type d'un bœuf, animal compris sous la dénomination de *pecus*, (*pecus majus*, *pecus bubulum*) n'ait été empreint sur ces masses rectangulaires de bronze coulé, qui semblent avoir devancé la fabrication des monnoies régulières, chez plusieurs peuples de l'Italie. On pourroit croire que ces morceaux de cuivre, ayant pour type un bœuf, étoient, dans les échanges de cet âge reculé, l'équivalent du prix d'un bœuf. M. J. Byres, que vous avez connu à Rome, a possédé quelques unes de ces pièces rectangulaires du poids de quatre et de six livres Romaines, et M. d'Hancarville les a fait graver dans le premier volume de ses *Re-*

cherches, pl. 2 et 9. Molinet et Passeri en ont publié de pareilles. Ainsi on a pu dire que le bœuf, *pecus*, a été un des types des monnoies primitives de l'Italie, ce qui justifie l'étymologie du mot *pecunia*, telle que les écrivains anciens eux-mêmes nous l'ont transmise.

“ Cependant le bœuf a été très rarement le type de la monnoie de bronze frappée à Rome. Dans la collection de Ste. Genevieve, et dans celle du Cardinal Zelada à Rome, existoit autrefois un *as* Romain du poids de huit onces et plus, ayant pour types, d'un côté la tête de Rome ou de Minerve, de l'autre côté un taureau marchant; dans l'exergue la légende ROMA, et dans le haut du champ le chiffre I, désignant la valeur d'un *as*. Cet *as*, quoique très-ancien, ne sauroit être regardé comme une monnoie primitive. Les premiers *as* devoient peser une livre Romaine, ou douze onces.”*

* Letter from the Chevalier Visconti to the Author, dated 17th August, 1814.

Without being able to determine the period when the Greeks began to use money, the passage of Pausanias I have quoted, and other circumstances, shew when they had none. The Chevalier Visconti is of opinion that the Athenians themselves never fabricated any gold money: “ Quoiqu’en disent quelques scholiastes, il semble que les Athéniens n’ont jamais fabriqué des monnoies d’or. Ils en ont frappé d’argent depuis les premières époques du monnoyage, et ensuite ils en ont frappé de bronze. Les Athéniens, comme les Romains, faisoient usage des monnoies d’or étrangères, particulièrement de celles des Rois de Macedoine. Ainsi les Philippes d’or étoient à Rome comme à Athènes la mesure commune des évaluations en or.”*

Effigies on the Greek coins, taken from mythology, or in allusion to the respective states where they were struck, were pro-

* Letter from the Chevalier Visconti to the Author, 17th August, 1814.

bably posterior to those with the head of the ox on them. On the Athenian silver coins, we find on one side the head of Pallas, and on the reverse an owl sitting on an oil jar. The meaning of those effigies is obvious. Minerva was the guardian divinity of Attica; oil, its principal production; and the owl, at the same time an emblem of sagacity, and a sentinel to advise the goddess of what passed during night.*

* “ Les opinions que vous avez adoptées sur les médailles d'Athènes sont justes. Il est vrai, presque toutes les monnoies d'argent de cette ville ont les deux types que vous décrivez, la tête de Minerve d'un côté, et la chouette de l'autre. Je dis presque toutes, parce qu'on a marqué quelques exceptions, mais elles sont très-rares, peu significantes, et ordinairement elles n'ont lieu que dans les subdivisions de la drachme Attique.

“ La chouette est ordinairement perchée sur un vase *diota*, car il est à deux manches, et l'opinion générale est que ce vase est supposé contenir de l'huile. En adoptant cette opinion très-fondée, je pense que ce vase pouvoit désigner le vase d'argile, orné de peintures, qu'on remplissoit de l'huile qui avoit été tirée des oliviers sacrés appelés proprement *Moriæ*. Ces *Moriæ*

Many of the Lacedemonian coins bear the head of Hercules, and most of them have something alluding to the Dioscuri. The race of Hercules reigned at Sparta almost a thousand years. Aristodemus who descended in the fifth generation from that hero, conquered Laconia almost 1200 years

étoient une douzaine d'oliviers, plantés près de l'Académie, et qu'on disoit avoir été des rejetons de l'olivier miraculeux que l'on conservoit à l'Acropole dans le portique des Cargatides, et qu'on disoit avoir été produit par un coup de lance de la déesse elle-même, lorsqu'elle disputoit à son oncle Neptune la possession de l'Attique. Ce vase d'argile rempli de l'huile des *Moriæ* étoit le prix des vainqueurs aux jeux Panathéens. Voyez Suidas, v. *Moriæ*, et Hesychius au même mot, Meursius, *Panathenæa*, chap. xi. &c.

“ Quant à la chouette, elle a plusieurs rapports avec la déesse d'Athènes, entr'autres celui de la couleur de ses yeux. Voyez Phurnutus ou Cornutus de *Natura Deorum*, c. 20, où ce mythologiste remarque que cette couleur verdâtre, *color glaucus cæsius*, est celle des yeux dans les animaux carnassiers et guerriers. La chouette, comme vous savez, prend en Grec le nom de *Glaux*, et Minerve est appelée *Glaucopis* par Homere (*cæsius habens oculos*).”—*Letter from the Chevalier Visconti to the Author, dated 24th August, 1814.*

before our æra, and was succeeded by his two sons, Procles and Eurysthenes, who formed the two houses of the Eurysthenides or Agides, and Proclides or Eurypontides, and whose descendants reigned jointly until about 200 years before our æra: Sparta was the birth-place of Castor and Pollux: these circumstances sufficiently explain the effigies on the Lacedemonian coins.

The coins of all the other Peloponnesian states have also something allusive to them. Those of Corinth had the figure of Neptune with a trident in his hand riding on a Pegasus. On Thessalian coins a horse is seen,—the Thessalians being famous horsemen, and their force consisting entirely of cavalry. The Byzantine coins had a dolphin twisted round the trident of Neptune. On some Macedonian coins we observe the goat, probably in allusion to the tradition of its having served as conductor to Caranus and his brothers; but in general they bore the effigy of the sovereign. The most ancient that is known, is of the first Alexander. It is said that Philip, who mounted

the throne in the year 360 before our æra, or about 100 years after the death of that Alexander, was so elated at having gained the prize of the chariot race at the Olympic games, that he caused coins to be struck, with a chariot upon them.* It has been pretended that his son and successor Alexander the Great, forbade his own effigy to be put on the coins, and that all the gold money struck during his reign, had on one side a head of Minerva, on the other a figure of Victory; and the silver coins a head of a young Hercules on one side, and on the reverse Jupiter, in a sitting posture. The author, however, remembers to have seen a piece of silver Macedonian money, about the size of a half crown piece, which was found in the north of India; and from what he recollected of a bust which he had seen of Alexander, the head on the coin appeared to him to be exactly the same: and he was

* Of these several are to be met with in the cabinets of the curious: one of them is in the author's possession.

confirmed in the belief of its being the effigy of that monarch, on examining the fine Grecian bust of him in the Museum at Paris, which opinion was corroborated by what is said by the Chevalier Visconti in his *Iconographie Grecque*.* The gold coin of Macedonia, even under Philip, and before the conquests of Alexander, must have been very considerable, as the gold procured by him annually from the mines in Thrace, is stated at a thousand talents, or 3,300,000 pounds, English money.†

But, about a century before that time, money must have been in considerable quantities in other parts of Greece, and particularly at Athens; as at the breaking out of the Peloponnesian war, in the year 431 before our æra, Pericles, when giving an account of the revenue and resources of the Athenian state, after observing that it was free from debt, says, that six thousand talents were lying in the treasury in the

* See tom. ii. p. 42.

† Diod. Siculus, lib. iii.

Acropolis;* that the sum there deposited had amounted to 9,700 talents, but that 2000 had been expended in erecting the building named the Propylæa, and 1,700 in the war with the Potidæans.

Copper money is said to have been first employed at Rome, under Numa Pompilius, a little more than 700 years before our æra, but in pieces of that metal of a certain shape and weight, without stamp or effigy. It only began to be stamped under Servius Tullius about 180 years afterwards. Silver coin was first introduced about 259 years before our æra,†

* In speaking of Grecian money, we shall follow the value given to Attic money, by Bernard :

	£.	s.	d.
A Drachma - - - - -	0	0	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
A Mina, 100 Drachmæ - - - -	3	8	9
A Silver Talent - - - - -	206	5	0
A Gold Talent - - - - -	3,300	0	0

If the silver talent be here meant, the sum deposited in the Acropolis, amounted to 1,237,500 pounds sterling; but if the gold talent be meant, to 21,800,000 pounds.

† *Populus Romanus ne argento quidem signato, ante*

and gold coin must have been brought into use some years later ; though neither the exact epoch, nor under whose authority it was first struck, is known. Pliny says : “ Proximum scelus fecit, qui primus ex auro denarium signavit: quod et ipsum latet actore incerto.”* Both, however, date above a hundred years after the death of Pericles ; —a circumstance that seems extraordinary, when we consider the abundance of gold and silver coins at Athens at that epoch, and the connexion which had so long existed between the Italians and Greeks. Placing the effigy of the chief of the state on Roman coins, was a distinction granted by the senate to Julius Cæsar,† and after-

Pyrrhum regem devictum, usus est. Librales (unde etiam nunc libella dicitur, et dupondius), appendebantur asses.—*Plin. Hist. Natur. lib. xxxiii. c. 3.*

* *Plin. lib. xxxiii. c. 3.*

† “ Il existe des monnoies d'argent et d'or avec l'effigie de César, qui ont été frappées de son vivant, l'an 709, et l'an 710, de la fondation de Rome. Dion, (lib. xlv. c. 4) nous apprend que le sénat avoit accordé à César le privilège d'avoir son effigie empreinte sur la

wards practised under the emperors that succeeded him. In the time of Augustus money was in great abundance at Rome, and continued for some time even to increase. Brerewood, quoting Suetonius, says: “Tiberius Cæsar corasit et reliquit vigesies septies millies Sestertiûm. Quod totum ante annum Caligula dissipavit;”—

monnoie Romaine; et plusieurs médailles nous assurent que ce décret fut mis en exécution.

“Les médailles de César avec sa tête, frappées de son vivant, sont celles qui présentent du côté de la tête les légendes *Cæsar Imperator*, *Cæsar Dictator quarto*, *Cæsar Dictator perpetuo*, *Cæsar Parens Patriæ*, et se trouvent gravées dans le *Thesaurus familiarum Romanorum* de Morellius, sous les familles *Æmilia*, *Cossutia*, et *Mettia*; car Lucius Æmilius Buca, Marcus Mettius, et Caius Cossutius Mariclianus sont les magistrats qui les ont fait frapper. Sur la plûpart de ces monnoies, le type du revers est Vénus victorieuse, *Venus victrix*, qui avoit été le mot de l'ordre dans la bataille de Pharsale.

“Un plus grand nombre de médailles à l'effigie de César ont été fabriquées après sa mort, et la plûpart sous les triumvirs. Alors la légende offre ordinairement l'épithète de *Divus* attribuée à César.”—*Letter from Chevalier Visconti to the Author, dated 17th August, 1814.*

and he computes this in English money at 21,093,750 pounds sterling. Notwithstanding the dissipations of Caligula and Nero, and the vast sums then sent into foreign countries to procure articles of luxury, in the time of Pliny, whose death happened eleven years after that of Nero, money seems to have been still very abundant, if we may form a judgment of it by the immense public charges, the inordinate expenses of the emperor and persons of rank, and the quantities of specie that continued to be annually exported. On the author's expressing to the Chevalier Visconti, the difficulty he found in tracing the sources whence the Romans continued so long to receive the prodigious sums that appear to have been expended and exported by them, M. Visconti, in a letter to him on the subject, observes: "Les anciens tiroient les métaux précieux pour la plus grande partie de l'Afrique, dont les mines qui existent, à ce que l'on croit, sur les côtes Orientales de cette immense péninsule, aujourd'hui ne sont pas exploitées. En outre,

de plusieurs mines de l'Espagne et d'autres contrées de l'empire Romain, mines qui sont maintenant épuisées, ou que l'on a abandonnées comme peu profitables. Les métaux précieux monnoyés devoient s'élever dans l'empire Romain à une valeur immense, à ce que l'on peut juger par le nombre infini de pièces d'or des Empereurs Romains, que depuis tant de siècles on trouve et on fond tous les jours."—It is said, that in the mines of Spain alone, 40,000 workmen were employed.* But all those resources gradually declined, many of them became entirely exhausted; luxury and public expenditure continued; the money in circulation rapidly disappeared; to supply the want of it, recourse was had to the ruinous measure of debasing the coin, by encreasing the alloy. In the time of Caracalla, or about 174 years after the death of Tiberius, half the weight of the coin was of base metal; under Alexander Severus, who was proclaimed Emperor

* Strabo, lib. iii.

about fourteen years after the death of Caracalla, two thirds was alloy ; and under Gallienus, who began to reign about twenty-five years after Severus, copper washed with silver was put in circulation, and forced on the public for the value of the coin it represented.

If it seem extraordinary that people so enlightened as the ancient Hindūs and Egyptians appear to have been, did not, at the times we have been treating of, fabricate money, it is at least as surprising that the Chinese, one of the most industrious people in the world, are, even at this hour, without money of their own, and continue to give and receive in payment metals by weight according to their quality. Vast quantities of coin annually flow into their country from the nations they trade with ; they cannot, therefore, be ignorant of its utility ; but if the nations with whom the ancient Hindūs and Egyptians had intercourse, were, like themselves, without money, we may at most accuse them of want of invention, but not of obstinately,

like the Chinese, refusing to profit by the example of other nations. It may also excite surprise that the Romans, notwithstanding their connexion with the Greeks, should not have employed the precious metals in coins much earlier than they did. The historian may record facts, but cannot always explain them. The coins mentioned by Mr. Chambers to have been found at Mavalipouram, and those which it is said, are to be met with in Nepaul, Boutan, Assam, Thibet, and among the ruins of Oujein, though called ancient, and now entitled to be so named, may, nevertheless, be of dates many years subsequent to the expedition of Alexander into India; and what has been translated money from the Sanscrit writings, we may suspect to be nothing more than pieces of metals of a certain weight and touch, prepared for the purposes to which money is applied.

But, notwithstanding the preceding doubts we have stated relative to the existence of money at a remote period in India, previously to the time Pausanias wrote,

those doubts were, however, to a certain degree weakened, by viewing some ancient gold, silver, and copper Hindū coins, which are deposited in the Library at the India House, and were shewn to the author by Dr. Wilkins since his return to England. They are without dates, but as the names of two distinct sovereigns are upon them, it is to be hoped that Dr. Wilkins, from his knowledge of the Sanscrit language, and of the mythology and history of the Hindūs, will be able to ascertain the epoch when they were struck. Two of the gold coins, are very beautiful, and might be supposed to be medals, struck to commemorate some event, as was practised by the Greeks and Romans, and has been continued through modern times. I shall nevertheless conclude this article by inserting another letter from the Chevalier Visconti, in which he treats the question of the origin of ancient money in general.

“ J’ai lu, Monsieur, la note savante que vous avez écrite sur l’antiquité des monnoies. Je n’ai jamais prétendu que mon

opinion dût être l'opinion générale ; je savois même que le plus grand nombre des savans qui se sont occupés de ces recherches, sont d'un avis contraire ; mais je n'en tiens pas moins à l'opinion que je vous énonçai, la dernière fois que j'eus l'honneur de vous écrire.

“ Les passages de la Bible ne me semblent d'aucune valeur pour décider la question de l'antiquité des monnoies. On parle dans la Genèse (c. xxiii.) de sicles, c'est-à-dire de certain poids (shequel) d'argent ; on les pèse (shaqual), mais le terme *monnoie* ne se trouve pas dans le texte où il n'existe d'autre phrase que celle-ci : “ argent qui a cours chez les marchands,” expression qui se rapporte évidemment au titre. Ainsi le mot *pièces* n'existe pas non plus dans l'endroit où l'on parle de la vente de Joseph (Genèse, c. xxxvii.). Trente sicles d'argent, c'est comme si l'on disoit trente onces d'argent ou autre poids déterminé. Ailleurs l'auteur sacré emploie le mot *quesita* (c. xxxii.), mot si sujet à la dispute que la plûpart des interprètes Orientaux

l'ont traduit pour *agneau*. *Betsah* (Exodus, c. xxxviii.), désigne un morceau. Ce mot est tiré du verbe *Batsah*, rompre, déchirer ; et dans ces phrases il signifie *moitié* ; c'est-à-dire la moitié de ce poids déterminé d'argent qu'on désigne par le mot *shequel* ou *sicle*, et qui étoit fixé par un patron que l'on gardoit dans le tabernacle.

“ Les métaux précieux ont servi aux échanges dans l'Orient depuis des siècles très reculés. On les raffinoit, pour cet usage, jusqu'à un certain point. Pour la commodité du commerce de détail, on morceloit les lingots en petites pièces, qui étoient à peu-près d'un poids déterminé, sauf à le vérifier dans les occasions. On subdivisoit ces morceaux par moitiés, et de-là le *shequel* et le *Betsah*. Tout cela n'étoit pas encore la monnoie. Cette invention suppose que le métal précieux soit marqué d'une empreinte par une autorité compétente qui puisse garantir le titre et même le poids de la pièce. Les simples morceaux d'argent usités dans le commerce depuis un tems immémorial, ont été dé-

signés par des savans sous la dénomination de *Nummi non cusi*, et ont fait le sujet d'un bel ouvrage de Otho Sperlingius, *De Nummis non cusi*, imprimé à Amsterdam l'an 1700, in 4to, ouvrage où cette matière a été savamment traitée et éclaircie. L'Egypte, l'Assyrie, la Perse et l'Inde, n'ont point connu d'autre monnoie, avant que les Grecs n'eussent inventé la véritable. Je ne déciderai pas si les premiers inventeurs des monnoies ont été les Lydiens, comme le veut Hérodote (lib. i. c. 94.), ou les Argiens, comme l'assurent les marbres d'Oxford (Epoque, xxxi.), Strabon, et d'autres.

“ Quant au passage de Diodore, où cet historien parle du châtiment que les loix de l'Egypte infligeoient aux faux-monnoieurs, on doit l'expliquer par rapport à l'altération des *Nummi non cusi*, ou à celle des monnoies Aryandiques, qu'Aryandes, gouverneur de l'Egypte sous Darius d'Hystaspe, fut le premier à faire frapper dans cette contrée. Les conjectures de Winkelmann sur une monnoie qui ressemble aux feuilles de bruyère, et qu'on a cru avoir été

frappées en Egypte, sont très-foibles ; elles ne sont pas avouées par la plus saine critique.

“ Hérodote avoit voyagé en Egypte et dans la haute Asie : il auroit dû connoître les monnoies anciennes de ces peuples, si elles avoient existé. Un antiquaire ne peut avoir d'autre opinion que celle des Grecs. Il voit sur les monnoies Grecques, les tentatives, les premiers essais, les pas ultérieurs et le perfectionnement graduel du monnayage. Si cet art eut été une invention étrangère, les Grecs l'auroient adopté dans cet état de perfectionnement qu'une longue suite de siècles auroit dû lui donner. Mais je n'ai pas le tems de traiter comme il faut cette belle question. J'ajouterai seulement que les plus anciennes monnoies qui existent aujourd'hui sont sans aucune contestation l'ouvrage des Grecs.”

But after all that has been here stated, it must be allowed that the subject still lies open to discussion.*

* The reader may consult on ancient coins and weights, Bernard, *de Mensuris et Ponderibus Antiquis*.

Brerewood,

It is evident that the Hindūs, in the remotest times of which we have account, not only knew the art of refining metals, but had many able and ingenious artisans, who afterwards fashioned them into works of utility or ornament. In the Ayeen Akbery they are said to have been greatly superior in the art of refining and working them to the people of any other country. The prodigious wealth of India, in jewels, gold, and silver, is celebrated by numerous writers. Alexander in the speech to his troops after his victory over Porus, tells them that they were now going to enter those famous countries so abundant

Brerewood, de Ponderibus et Pretiis Veterum Nummorum. Arbuthnot, Tabulæ Antiquorum Nummorum. Rechenberg, Hist. Rei. Num. Veteris, particularly the part by Gulielmus Budæus. Gronovius, de Pecunia Vetere. Kircher, Œdipus Egyptiacus, &c. Otho Sperlingius. Ugolino, Thesaurus Antiquitatum. Paucton, Métrologie. Science Numismatique, œuvres diverses de l'Abbé Barthelemy, tom ii. together with his different Essays on the same subject in the Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions. Doctrina Nummorum Veterum, by l'Abbé Eckhel of Vienna.

in riches, that all they had found and seen in Persia would appear as nothing, in comparison with them.* Alexander neither penetrated far into India, nor remained long there, and the treasures brought away by him in his short course, must have been soon replaced by the commerce which his expedition procured to the Hindūs with Egypt, under the Ptolemies, and which was greatly extended and increased after that country became subject to the Romans. The trade of India with foreign nations, was almost entirely maintained by its productions of gems, drugs, spices, and gums, together with its numerous valuable manufactures. The amount of the goods received being much inferior to that furnished by it, the balance in its favor was paid in specie; the money which once entered India, as now in China, remained there; hence its wealth in the precious metals must have continued to increase yearly, from the time we are speaking of, down to

* See Quintus Curtius, lib. ix. c. 1.

the beginning of the eighth century of our æra, the epoch given to the first appearance of its Mohammedan conquerors, in the person of Valid, the sixth of the Khalifs of the Ommiad dynasty. His conquests seem to have been confined to places contiguous to the Indus: but Mahmoud, sovereign of Ghizni, who entered India in 1002, is said to have subdued the countries southward as far as Visiapour, every where plundering and amassing riches, demolishing the temples, and putting numbers of the inhabitants of the country to the sword, for the sole offence of refusing to preserve life at the price of abjuring their religion. The accounts given by eastern historians of the wealth found by him, though they must appear fabulous, yet shew that it was immense. Mahmoud died in 1028. His successors named Ghiznavides, from Ghizni, the capital of their dominions, continued to reign until 1157, when Shehab-eddin was deposed by Hussein Gauri, so named from Gaur, a province to the north of Ghizni. The Gaurides got possession of all the ter-

ritories that had been enjoyed by their predecessors on both sides of the Indus. Shah-Abdin, the fourth of the Gauride princes, during the life of his brother and predecessor, conquered Delhi and Moultan. After he became Emperor, he brought such prodigious riches from India to Ghizni, that, on his favourite daughter inquiring of the treasurer to what value they amounted, he answered, that there were three thousand pounds weight in diamonds only, by which she might judge of the rest. A private Hindū inflamed with indignation at the pollutions committed, and tyranny exercised by Shah-Abdin, vowed to kill him, and executed his vow. The dynasty of the Gaurides finished in 1212, in the person of Mahmoud, his nephew and successor. On the death of Mahmoud, who left no children, his dominions seem to have been separated and kept by the different viceroys, or officers, who governed them. In India, one of these named Nasser-Adin, kept Moultan; another, Kothab-Adin, Delhy; and on the west of the Indus, Tagy-Adin,

Ghizni. In 1214, Mohammed, prince of Korasan, took possession of Ghizni, but was expelled from it, as well as from his own territory, Korasan, by Gengis-Khan. The history of the Mohammedan conquests in India, of their rulers, and revolutions, till about the end of the fourteenth century, is a labyrinth which we shall avoid entering into, and is indeed a subject foreign to our present purpose. Those of Mahmoud, the Ghiznavide, had led to others; but the expedition of Tamerlane completed the ruin of the Hindū empire, and fixed on succeeding generations a lasting train of miseries. Tamerlane, in virtue of the conquests of Gengis-Khan, having granted to his grandson Mirza Pir Mahomed-Gehangir, all the dominions that were supposed to belong to the Ghiznian empire, on both sides of the Indus, he, early in 1398, crossed that river, marched to and subdued Moultan, while his grandfather advanced at the head of a powerful army from Samarcand. Tamerlane having also entered India, was met by his grandson, and after subduing the town

and provinces of Delhy, marched with a part of his army in a north-east direction as far as the place where the Ganges issues out of the mountains of Srinagur, about 100 miles E. N. E. of Hurdwar. From thence, moving in a north-west direction along the skirts of the Sewalic mountains, he quitted India at the spot where he had entered it.* His whole course through that henceforward devoted country, was marked with blood and devastation. In one single day he caused a hundred thousand Hindū prisoners to be put to death, because they were judged by him to be idolaters. The riches carried away by Tamerlane, are said to have yet exceeded those which had been amassed by the Gauride prince Shah-Abdin. The disappearance of this malignant meteor, was succeeded by scenes of persecutions and warfare, during which it may be presumed the Hindūs endeavoured, as much

* See the march of Timur, in Rennell, p. 115 and seq.

as possible to conceal their treasures.* But the immense wealth of India was anciently to be found principally in the temples, and in the palaces of the princes and nobles. In the former were numerous images of massive gold and silver, and many of them enriched with the most precious gems of the east. Almost every individual had his household gods, formed of more or less valuable materials according to the means of the possessor. They who could not afford to have them in the precious metals, had them of brass, and even of clay. In descriptions of palaces that are to be met with, we read of ceilings of rooms plated with pure gold

* “ In the plains of India, also, not less than in those of Europe, are supposed to lie buried treasures, principally in bullion, to an incalculable amount, deposited there during the ravages and oppression of successive conquerors, through at least eight centuries of anarchy and tumult; I mean from the seventh century, to the mild and peaceable reign of Akber. These are now and then, though rarely, discovered, and sometimes Greek coins.”—*Maurice's Indian Antiquities*, vol. vii. p. 546.

and silver, and columns of the latter entwined with vines of gold. Quintus Curtius says, that when the Hindū princes went abroad, they were carried in litters* of gold, ornamented with fringes of pearls, and were preceded by numerous officers carrying censers of silver to perfume the way. In the Ayeen Akbery, we have an account of the jewels and ornaments anciently worn by Hindū women, which serves to give an idea of the variety, quantity, and great value of those ornaments.

But notwithstanding the wealth with which India abounded, it is very possible that the precious metals in circulation, instead of being in proportion to that wealth, were but in proportion to the demands of traffic. It has been observed, that none was employed for the purpose of purchasing the productions of other countries, and

* Meaning the palankin. But, supposing the gold and silver of the ceilings, the columns, and the palankins, to have been merely laminæ, which undoubtedly was the case, the quantities of those metals thus employed must have been immense.

with the Hindus, the mode and habits of living never change: from the mildness of their climate, their wants are fewer than those of the inhabitants of colder regions; and the prices of things necessary for food and raiment, are cheaper than in almost any other part of the polished world. The principal food of the Hindūs is rice, vegetables, and milk; those who are permitted to eat animal food, are commanded to do it sparingly, and spirituous liquors of every kind are positively forbidden. Scarcity of water naturally lessens the harvests; failure in the periodical rains, may produce famine; but, in the ordinary state of things, a labourer may be supplied with his wants of every kind with about two-pence English a day, in all the parts of India that we have visited.*

* Though the prices at the principal European settlements, even of the productions of the country, are higher than those in places remote from them, yet when the author left India, the hire of one of the best household servants, at Madrass, was two pagodas, or about fifteen shillings a month, for which he fed and clothed himself

and family, if he had any. His dress consisted of a clean white linen robe descending to his feet, a sash and turban. "The food of an Indian is very simple; the diet of one is the same with that of millions, namely, rice, with split pulse and salt to relieve its insipidity. Two and a half ounces of salt, two pounds of split pulse, and eight pounds of rice, form the usual daily consumption of a family of five persons in easy circumstances,"*—but to this fare, those who can afford the expense, add refined butter, named ghee, in the cookery, as well as other ingredients, to which Europeans give the general name of *curry stuff*. All but the several classes of Brahmins may eat certain animal food. It is superfluous to repeat that the use of the cow species is positively prohibited, it is even declared to be a high crime to ill treat or injure the animal. Throughout Hindūstan, the wild hog, water-fowl, and various sorts of game are to be met with, and at a very moderate rate. The quality of mutton differs according to the nature of the pasture; in the northern Circars, and particularly near to Masulipatam, it is remarkably good, and the price of a sheep, chosen out of a numerous flock, was, when the author was in India, a rupee, or little more than two shillings English money.

"The hire of a labourer, when paid in money, may be justly estimated at something less than two-pence sterling a day. In cities and large towns the hire of a day-labourer is, indeed, greater, because provisions are

* See Remarks on the Husbandry and internal Commerce of Bengal, 1804, p. 20.

there dearer, and the separation of the man from his family renders larger earnings necessary to their support; but, even, in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, men may be hired for field-labour at the rate of two rupees and a half *per mensem*, which is equivalent to two-pence halfpenny *per diem*.”*

* See Remarks on the Husbandry and internal Commerce of Bengal, 1804, p. 131.

CHAPTER III.

THE HINDŪ ACCOUNT OF THE DELUGE.

IN the reign of a prince named Satyavrata, the earth was covered with the waters, and every living creature destroyed, excepting the pious prince himself, seven Rishis, or saints, who accompanied him with their wives, and a male and female of each species of living creatures; which, by the command of the preserving deity, were saved in a ship that had been prepared for the purpose. After seven days spent on the universal ocean, finding ground, the vessel was fastened to it. When the deluge had subsided, Vishnu appearing, instructed Satyavrata in divine knowledge, naming him the Seventh Menu, and Vaivaswata, or "child of the sun." Such is in sub-

stance the history given by the Hindūs of the deluge, after divesting that history of its numerous allegories and fables. “Let us compare,” says Sir William Jones, “the two Indian accounts of the Creation and the Deluge, with those delivered by Moses. It is not made a question in this tract, whether the first chapters of Genesis are to be understood in a literal, or merely in an allegorical sense; the only points before us are, whether the creation described by the *first Menu*, which the Brahmins called that of the *Lotos*, be not the same with that recorded in our Scripture; and whether the story of the *seventh Menu* be not one and the same with that of Noah. I propose the questions, but affirm nothing.”*

* See *Asiat. Res.* vol. i. p. 232; vol. ii. p. 118; and vol. iii. p. 484.

CHAPTER IV.

ON THE MYTHOLOGY, &c. OF THE HINDŪS,
AND ITS AFFINITY WITH THAT OF THE
GREEKS AND ROMANS.

THE affinity discoverable between the mythology of the Hindūs, and that of the ancient Greeks and Romans, appears to us so very conspicuous, as almost to exclude doubt of their having one common origin.

In the Ganesa of the Hindūs, we discover the Janus of the Romans. In Europe he was the god of wisdom; in India he is the same; and in other respects equally resembles him. All sacrifices and religious ceremonies, all addresses to superior deities, and all worldly affairs of moment, are commenced by pious Hindūs, with an address to Ganesa. In many parts

of India, every new built house has the name of Ganesa inscribed upon it. Few books are begun without the words "Salutation to Ganesa."*

In Saturn, Sir William Jones recognizes Menu or Satyavrata, whose patronymic name was Vaivaswata, or child of the sun; and whom the Hindūs believe to have reigned over the world in the earliest age of their chronology. As the god of time, or rather as time personified, Saturn was represented holding a scythe in one hand, and in the other a serpent with its tail in its mouth,—the symbol of perpetual cycles and revolutions of ages : sometimes he is to be seen in the act of devouring years in the form of children, and sometimes encircled by the seasons, appearing like boys and girls.

A relation between Yama, brother of Menu, and the Grecian Minos, the supposed son of Jove, may be inferred from his being distinguished, among other attri-

* Jones.

butes, as judge of departed souls. In this character Yama is likewise named Darham Rajah. He has a sceptre in his hand, and rides on a buffalo. He has two genii under him, named Chiter and Gopt. The former has the charge of reporting the good, the other the bad actions of mankind; and that these may be exactly known, two inferior genii attend on every one of the human species, that of Chiter on the right, and that of Gopt on the left. The Hindūs believe, that, when a soul leaves its body, it immediately repairs to Yamapur, or the city of Yama, where it is judged according to what may have been the conduct of the deceased in this life; on receiving sentence it either ascends to heaven, or is driven to Narac, the region of serpents; or is sent back to earth to animate other bodies of men or animals, until its vicious inclination be corrected.

Jupiter, the *father of gods and men*, and worshipped under a variety of names, seems to comprehend under these the different attributes of the triple divinity of the Hindūs,

Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva, or Mahadeva, “ for that is the order in which they are expressed by the letters A, U, M, which coalesce and form the mystical word, O M, a word which never escapes the lips of a pious Hindū, and can only be a subject for his silent meditation. This triple deity is sometimes named *Vishnu, the pervader*, and *Narayan, or moving on the waters*: when he is viewed as a destroyer, he is called Siva, and other names: Brahma appears as the great lawgiver. The first operations of Vishnu, Siva, and Brahma, are variously described by a number of allegories, “ and from them we may deduce the Ionian philosophy of primæval water, the doctrine of the Mundane Egg, and the veneration paid to the Nymphæa Lotos;” * on which, in ancient sculptures, Brahma is seen floating on the waters. It is also a favourite symbol in Egyptian sculptures.

Vishnu is sometimes represented as riding on a Garuda, or Garura, a species of eagle,

* Jones.

or large kite, which is highly venerated by the Brahmins, particularly those on the coast of Coromandel.* One of his names, in his preserving quality, is Hāry.†

* It is there vulgarly named by the English, the *Brahminy Kite*.

† “ Nearly opposite to Sultan-gunge, a considerable town in the province of Bahar, there stands a rock of granite, forming a small island in the midst of the Ganges, known to Europeans by the name of *the rock of Jehangueery* ; which is highly worthy the traveller’s notice, on account of a vast number of images carved in relief upon every part of its surface. Amongst these there is Hāry, of a gigantic size, recumbent upon a coiled serpent, whose heads, which are numerous, the artist has contrived to spread into a kind of canopy over the sleeping god, and from each of its mouths issues a forked tongue, seeming to threaten death to any whom rashness might prompt to disturb him. The whole figure lies almost detached from the block on which it is hewn ; is finely imagined, and executed with great skill. The Hindūs are taught to believe, that at the end of every *Calpa*, or creation, all things are absorbed in the deity, and that in the interval between another creation, he reposeth himself on the serpent *Sesha*, duration, and who is also called *Ananta*, or endless.”—*Note of Mr. Wilkins to his translation of the Heetopades.*

“ The

Jupiter, in the capacity of *Avenger* or *Destroyer*, encountered and overthrew the Titans and Giants, to whom an eagle

“ The use of images by the Hindūs, for the purpose of heightening devotion, is at least as old as the Puranas; and it is remarkable, that, notwithstanding this circumstance, so little progress has been made in the arts of sculpture and painting. They may, perhaps, be admitted to equal the remains of Egyptian sculpture which have reached us; but are still infinitely inferior, in these particulars, to most nations, amongst whom religion has called in the assistance of the fine arts. We think it probable, that the progress of sculpture and painting was checked in Egypt, by the same causes which have retarded it in Hindūstan. The length, breadth, form, and colour, of every limb, or feature, of each of their mythological personages,—their dress, air, and attitude, are imperiously prescribed to the Hindū artist, by the works which he considers as sacred. We recollect, in particular, that the *Matsya Purana* exhibits a very full code of laws for the guidance of the artist. The most copious treatise, however, on this subject that we have met with, is comprised in a work in the Imperial Library at Paris, entitled *Hayasiras*; but the manuscript did not specify from what Purana it was extracted. We subjoin an extract from it.

“ ISWARA,” (OSIRIS, OR BACCHUS).

“ Let the arms, shoulders, and thighs of Iswara be

brought lightning and thunderbolts during the war. Thus, in a similar contest between Siva and the Daityas, or children of Diti, who frequently rebelled against heaven, Brahma is supposed to have presented the god of destruction with fiery shafts. When, beside this, we learn that Siva is believed to have three eyes, “and know from Pausanias, not only that Trioph-

brawny and muscular; his colour, that of the beams of the crescent which decorates his brow; his long hair must be knotted in many convolutions; his shoulders covered by a tyger's skin; his ten arms ornamented with bracelets of snakes; pendants hung from his ears; his face bright, and exquisitely beautiful; a sword, a club, a trident, and other weapons, are perceived in his hands. When he appears in the character of the vanquisher of Tripura, during the conflagration of the city, he has sixteen arms, of which one wields the unerring Pinaca. When the moon of Vaisakha ushers in his feast, he is depicted as dancing amidst a crowd of sportive nymphs and satyrs, to the sound of instruments touched by celestial musicians. In the character of Yogheswara, his aspect must be terrific.” Here follow the different proportions of his limbs and features in those four forms.—*Edinburgh Review*, vol. xvii. pp. 313, 314, article on Moor's Hindū Pantheon.

thalmos was an epithet of Zeus, but that a statue of him had been found at as early a period as the taking of Troy, with a third eye in his forehead, as we see him represented by the Hindūs,* we must conclude that the identity of the two gods falls little short of being demonstrated."

* Pausanias mentions having seen in the temple of Minerva at Corinth, a statue of Jupiter in wood, with two eyes, as men have them naturally, and a third in the middle of the forehead. "I was assured, (says he), that it is the Jupiter Patrius, that was in the palace of Priam, son of Laomedon, in an open place, and that it was at his altar that the unfortunate king fled for refuge on the taking of Troy. In the division of the booty, the statue fell to the share of Sthenelus, son of Capaneus, who afterwards placed it in this temple. It may reasonably be supposed that Jupiter is represented with three eyes, to signify that he reigns in heaven, secondly, in the infernal regions, for the God who governs these is also called Jupiter by Homer; and thirdly, over the waters. Whoever, therefore, made that statue, gave him, I believe, three eyes, in order to express that one and the same divinity reigns over the three parts; though some have divided them amongst three different divinities."—*Pausanias, Journey to Corinth*, lib. ii. c. 24.

“ In the character of Destroyer also, we may look upon this Indian deity as corresponding with the Stygian Jove, or Pluto ; especially since Cali or Time in the feminine gender, is a name of his consort, who will appear hereafter to be Proserpine.”

“ There is another attribute of Mahadeva, or Siva, by which he is *too visibly** distinguished in the temples and drawings in Bengal,” and it may be added in every part of India. “ To destroy according to the Vedantiis of India, the Susis of Persia, and many philosophers of European schools, is only to generate and reproduce in another form. Hence the god of destruction is supposed in India to preside over generation, as a symbol of which he rides on a white bull. Can we doubt that the loves and feats of Jupiter Genitor (not forgetting the white bull of Europa) and his extraordinary title of Lapis,† for which no satisfac-

* Meaning, we presume, the emblems of the genital parts.

† Various explanations are to be found for this name,

tory reason is commonly given, have a connexion with the Indian philosophy and mythology.”

In the Jupiter Marinus, or Neptune, Sir

or epithet, given by the Romans to Jupiter; but, as Sir William Jones observes, none that can be considered satisfactory. The Romans believed that an oath made in the name of Jupiter Lapis, was the most sacred of all oaths: Cicero calls it, *Jovem Lapidem Jurare*. It is supposed to have been derived from the stone presented to Saturn by his consort Ops, as a substitute for Jupiter. Saturn had promised to his elder brother Titan, to destroy all males that should be born to him, provided Titan should leave him in the undisturbed possession of his crown. On the birth of Jupiter, his mother Ops, Cybele, Rhea, or the elder Vesta (for it is presumed that they are only distinctive names for the same personage) deceived her husband by presenting a stone to him, and thus saved the boy, whom she concealed in a cavern on mount Ida. The mode of taking the Roman oath was said to be as follows:—The person to whom it was administered, holding a flint-stone in his hand, said, “If knowingly I deceive, so let Diespiter, saving the city and the capitol, cast me away from all that is good, as I cast away this stone.” It would be worthy of enquiry whether the Hindūs have any similar mode of swearing.—Eusebius says that a sovereign, named Lapis, reigned in Crete.

William Jones finds a resemblance with Mahadeva in another of his characters. The identity of the Trisula and the Trident, the former a weapon of Siva in this character, the other the distinctive sceptre of Neptune, seems to establish the analogy ; —“ and the veneration paid all over India to the large Buccinum, especially when it can be found with the spiral line and mouth turned from left to right, brings to our mind the music of Triton.”* Mahadeva’s consort Bhavani may be compared with the Venus Marina, their attributes being similar : and the Rembha of Indra’s court, seems to correspond with the popular Venus, or goddess of beauty ; this last sprung from the sea-foam, and Rembha was produced, according to the Indian fabulists, from the froth of the churned ocean.

“ The way of considering the gods as individual substances, but as distinct persons in distinct characters, is common to the Euro-

* Jones.

pean and Indian systems; as well as the custom of giving the highest of them the greatest number of names; hence, not to repeat what has been said of Jupiter, came the triple capacity of Diana, and hence her petition in the poet Callimachus,* that she might be *polyonymous*, or many-titled."

"The Romans had many Jupiters, one of whom was only the firmament personified, as the poet Ennius clearly expresses it:

Aspice hoc sublime candens, quam invocant
Omnes Jovem.

This Jupiter, or Diespiter, answers to the Indian god of the visible heavens, Indra, or the King;† who has also the character

* Named also Battiades, said to have been born at Cyrene, in Africa. All that has been preserved of his works, was published at Paris, in 1675, in one vol. in 4to. with notes by Mademoiselle Lefevre, afterwards the celebrated Madame Dacier; and republished at Leyden, in 1761, with additional notes, by different authors, in 2 vols. 8vo. A new edition, with a selection of notes, has just been edited from the Cambridge Press, in one vol. 8vo.

† Indra was chief of the inferior deities, but the

of the Roman *Genius*, or chief of the good spirits. His consort is named Sachi; his celestial city, is Amaravati; his palace* *Vaijayanta*; his garden, *Nandana*; his chief elephant, *Airavat*; his charioteer, *Matali*; and his weapon, *Vajra*, or the thunderbolt: he is the regent of winds and showers, and though the East is peculiarly under his care, yet his residence is *Meru*, or the North Pole, allegorically represented as a mountain of gold and gems. But with all his power he is considered as a subordinate deity, far inferior to the Triad, *Brahma*, *Vishnu*, and *Mahadeva*, or *Siva*, who are but three forms of one and the same God-head; thus the principal divinity of the Greeks and Latins, whom they called *Zeus* and *Jupiter*, with irregular inflexions *Dios* and *Jovis*, was not merely *Fulminator*, the Thunderer, but like the destroying power of India, *Magnus Divus*,

word, I am assured by those versed in the Sanscrit language, does not express *king*.

* For *palace* read *banner*.

Ultor, Genitor ; like the preserving power of India, Conservator, Soter, Opitulus, Altor, Ruminus ; and like the creative power, the Giver of Life, an attribute which I mention here on the authority of Cornutus,* a consummate master of mythological learning.”

“ The Olympian Jupiter fixed his court and held his councils, on a lofty and brilliant mountain ; so the appropriated seat of Mahadeva, whom the *Saivas* consider as the chief of the deities, was mount Cailasa, every splinter of whose rocks was an inestimable gem. His terrestrial haunts are the snowy hills of Himalaya,† or that

* Vide Cornuti sive Phurnuti de Natura Deorum Gentilium, &c. Basileæ, 1543.

† Himalaya, meaning *the Mansion of Snow*, is the name given by the Hindūs to that vast chain of mountains that bound India to the north ; and which, separating *Bharat*, or what is now generally called Hindūstan, from the Great Thibet, extend westward to Cashmire. Major Rennel supposes them to be the same as those named by the Greeks, Imaus, &c. for in different parts of the chain the Greeks gave them distinct names (see p. 4,

branch of them which has the name of

supra). Sir William Jones says, that the eastern part of those mountains is called by the Hindūs, Chandrasekhara, or the Moon's Rock. "These hills," says he, "are held sacred by the Hindūs, who suppose them to be the terrestrial haunt of the god Iswara. The mountain properly Himalaya, being personified, is represented to have been a powerful monarch, whose wife, Mena, bore him a daughter, named Parvati, *mountain-born*, and Durga, or *difficult of access*; but the Hindūs believe her to have been married to Siva in a pre-existent state, when she bore the name of Sati."* The extreme height of Himalaya is calculated by observations at 21,000 feet above the level of the plains of Hindūstan.

The Ganges is supposed to enter India by a subterraneous passage through these mountains, near to Gangotri. The government of Calcutta ordered a survey to be made of that river from Hurdwar,† where it enters the plains of Hindūstan, to its source. It is only, we believe, about ten miles above Hurdwar, at a place named Caremsapur, where it properly takes the name of Gunga, or Ganges. Before that, the different streams which compose it, bear different names. The surveying party set out from Hurdwar the 10th of April, 1808, and on the 31st of May, reached Badri-Nath, on the banks of the Alcananda, where there is a temple highly venera-

* See argument of a Hymn to Pracriti, Works of Sir William Jones, vol. xiii. p. 242, 8vo. edit.

† In N. Lat. 29°, 57', and E. Long. from Greenwich, 78°, 8', 30".

Chandrasechara, or the mountain of the Moon."*

ted by the Hindūs. Though then but little more than forty miles from Gangotri, it was, for reasons to be found in the narrative of the journey, resolved to return,† a circumstance much to be regretted. Major Rennell states Gangotri to be three hundred miles from Hurdwar.

This celebrated place is said to derive its name from Hara, and pilgrims resort thither annually, not only from every part of India to the east of the Indus; but also from Cabul, Candahar, Paishawar, and other countries to the west of that river, and which, as already observed, once formed part of the Hindū empire. The meeting begins early in March. Besides the religious festival, a great fair is held. The ablutions are performed in the sacred Ganges, at a place named Hara-ca-Pairi, or the foot of Hara. The grand day of bathing answers to our 11th of April. The number of persons who assemble annually, has been computed at about a million of souls. Devotees resort at certain seasons to numerous other celebrated places, as Jagger-naut in Orixia, Trippety, Conjeveram, Chelumboum, Seringham in the Carnatic: and, as anciently in Greece, serious contests for precedence, frequently occur at those meetings.

* Jones.

† See Narrative of a Journey, &c. *Asiat. Res.* vol. xi.

Cuvera, likewise named Vetesa and Paulastaya, the Indian Plutus, is a magnificent deity, who resides in the palace of Aloca, and in his travels is borne through the sky in a splendid car named Pushpaca. He is the chief of the Yakshas and Rakshas, and is attended by good and evil genii.

Varouna, the god, or genius of water, is but an inferior deity : he is sometimes represented riding on a crocodile.

The ancients mention the god of love in the double character of divine and earthly. As such he has different names, and different parentage ascribed to him. In his former character, of pure and virtuous love, he is supposed to be the son of Jupiter and Venus ; but the goddess being told by Themis, the patroness of oracles, that her son Eros would not grow to maturity till she had another son, she accordingly had one by Mars, whom she named Anteros. She is hence called by Ovid, the mother of two loves. This Cupid is sometimes represented with a torch in his hand, sometimes as armed with a bow and a quiver of

arrows, to testify his power of inflaming the mind, or wounding the heart; he is crowned with roses as emblems of the delightful but transitory pleasures of the passion he conveys;* sometimes he is represented with a bandage over his eyes, to intimate that those under his influence are blind to the faults and failings of the object beloved by them: at others, he appears with a rose in one hand and a dolphin in the other, the last perhaps as relative to the birth of his mother, or to shew that his empire even extends over the ocean. He is depicted in the air, on the earth, on the waters; he is seen dancing, playing, and climbing on trees; riding on panthers and lions, and guiding them at his will. The Indian god of love, is generally named Cama, or Camadeva. In the argument

* Perhaps also the common proverb of, there are no roses without thorns, or in French, *il n'y a point de roses sans épines*, to express that those pleasures are frequently accompanied with, or productive of misery, may have been taken from this allegorical ornament.

of a beautiful hymn to this deity, Sir William Jones informs us :* “ The Hindū god, to whom the following poem is addressed, appears evidently the same with the Grecian Eros, and the Roman Cupido ; but the Indian description of his person and arms, his family, attendants, and attributes, has new and peculiar beauties.”

According to the Hindū mythology, he is the son of Maya, or the general *attracting* power, and married to Retty, or *Affection* ; his bosom friend is Vassant, or *Spring* ; he is represented as a beautiful youth, sometimes conversing with his mother and consort in the midst of gardens and in temples ; sometimes riding by moonlight on a parrot, or lory, and attended by nymphs, the foremost of whom bears his standard, which represents a fish on a red ground. His favorite place of resort is a large tract of country round Agra, and principally the plains of Matra, where Krishen also and

* See Works of Sir William Jones, 8vo. edit. vol. xiii. p. 236.

the nine Gopia, who are clearly the Apollo and Muses of the Greeks, usually spend the night with music and dance. His bow of sugar-cane, or flowers, with a string of bees, and his *five* arrows, each pointed with an Indian blossom of a heating quality, are allegories equally new and beautiful. He has at least twenty-three names, most of which are introduced in the hymn.

When Tanjore was taken by the English, a curious picture was found, representing Camadeva riding on an elephant, whose body was composed of the figures of young women, entwined in so whimsical, but ingenious a manner, as to exhibit the shape of that enormous animal. Several pieces of sculpture of the same figure, in bas-relief, have been met with in other parts of Hindūstan. Sir William Jones mentions a picture of the same kind; in which the elephant is composed of nine damsels, and the rider is Krishen.

The Eros of the Greeks is found riding on, and guiding, a lion. The Hindūs place Camadeva on an elephant, the

strongest of the brute creation, and, perhaps, the most difficult to be tamed, but afterwards the most docile.

The ancients mention four Apollos : one, the son of Vulcan; another, the son of Corybas, and born in Crete; a third, the son of Jupiter and Latona; and another, the pastoral Apollo, born in Arcadia, and named by the Greeks Nomius.* This last corresponds with the Krishen of the Hindūs, who is supposed by one of their sects, to have been the god Vishnu, in one of his incarnations, and to have come amongst mankind as the son of *Divaci Vasudeva* :—“ but his birth was concealed through fear of the tyrant Cansa, to whom it had been predicted, that a child born at that time, and in that family, would destroy him; he was, therefore, confided to an honest herdsman of Mathura, surnamed Ananda, or *the Happy*, and his amiable wife, Yasoda;

* Nomius is also one of the names of the rural deity Aristæus, and an epithet given to Pan.

who, like another Pales,* was constantly occupied in her pastures and her dairy. In the family were numerous young gopas, or cow-herds, and beautiful gopis, or milkmaids, who were his playfellows during his infancy. When a youth, he selected out of these, *nine* damsels as his favourites, with whom he spent his gay hours in dancing, sporting, and playing on his *mourly*, or flute. He is described as a youth of perfect beauty; and many princesses, as well as the damsels of Nanda's farm, were passionately in love with him. He is likewise named Mohun, or *the Beloved*, Mae-noher, or *the Heart-catcher*; and he continues to this hour to be the darling divinity of Hindū women. When a boy, he slew the terrible serpent Caliya, with many giants and monsters; at a more advanced age, he killed his cruel enemy Cansa; and, having taken under his protection king

* The tutelar divinity of the shepherds, and protectress of their flocks.

Judishter, and the other Pandoos, who had been oppressed by the Kooroos and their tyrannical chief, he kindled the war described in the great epic poem, entitled the Mahabarat; at the prosperous conclusion of which he returned to his heavenly seat in Vaicontha, having left the instruction comprised in the Geeta to his disconsolate friend Arjoon, whose grandson became sovereign of India.”*

It cannot be denied, that much affinity is to be found between the Krishen of Mathura, and Nomius, the pastoral Apollo, a god beautiful, amorous, and warlike, who fed the flocks of Admetus, and slew the serpent Python.

“ In the mystical and elevated character of Pan, as a personification of the universe, (according to the notion of Lord Bacon,) there arises a sort of similitude between him and Krishen,† considered as Narayan. The

* Jones.

† For Krishen, we presume, should be read Mahadeva.

Grecian god plays divinely on his reed, to express, we are told, ethereal harmony. He has his attendant nymphs of the pastures and the dairy. His face is as radiant as the sky, and his head illumined with the horns of a crescent; whilst his lower extremities are deformed and shaggy, as a symbol of the vegetables which the earth produces, and of the beasts who roam over its surface. Now we may compare this portrait partly with the general character of Krishen, the shepherd god, and partly with the description in the Bhagavat, *of the Divine Spirit exhibited in the form of this universal world.*"*

Vayu is the god of the winds, and rides on an Antelope, with a sabre in his right hand. One of his names, also, is Pavana.

Agny, the god of fire, also named Pavaca, or the purifier, may be compared with the Vulcan of Egypt, where he was a deity of high rank; whereas the Vulcan of Greece appears to have been merely a

* Jones.

forgers of arms. Suaha, the wife of Pavaca, seems to answer to the younger Vesta, “or Vestia, as the Eolians pronounced the Greek word for a hearth.”* But the consort of this Indian Vulcan, is distinct from Bhavany, the Venus and consort of Siva. The Greeks and Romans, whose system is less regular than that of the Indians, married Venus to their divine artist, whom they named also Hephaistos; and who answers more properly to the Indian Visvacarma, the armourer of the gods, and inventor of the Agny-Astra, or *weapons of fire*. Visvacarma is said to have made all the arms for the war maintained in the Sutty-Young, by the Dewatas against the Assours, or the war between the good and evil spirits.

Much affinity is to be discovered between the Hindū Ayodhya, and the European Bacchus, not as the god presiding over the vintage, but in his character of hero and conqueror, as Dionysus, the son of Semele

* Jones.

and Jupiter ; whom the Greeks also named Bromios and Bugenes, or *the horned*, with reference to his father Jupiter *Ammon*,* or to the fable that he himself was born with horns. He was likewise called Triambos, or Dithyrambos, the triumphant ; which may refer to his triumphant entry into Thebes, the birth-place of his mother, and where, after all his various exploits, he fixed his residence, employing himself in promoting the happiness of his people, in reforming abuses, and making salutary laws, whence he obtained the title of Thesmo-

* According to fabulous history, Bacchus on his return from Asia, passing with his army through the deserts of Lybia, was in danger of perishing for want of water, when his father Jupiter appearing in the shape of a ram, conducted him to a fountain. In testimony of gratitude, he there built a temple to Jupiter, which, alluding to the desert, he named Ammon. Jupiter was there worshipped under the figure of a ram ; and in some other places he was to be seen in a human shape with horns. Bacchus, also, has been represented with horns : Ariadne says, in Ovid,

“ *Cæperunt matrem formosi tauri ; me tuu.*”

phorus. The name of Lyæus, or Liber, may, it is conceived, be applicable to the god of wine, one of the effects of which is to remove restraint. His head in this character is bound with ivy.* Bacchus, the hero, is represented in point of beauty even to have rivalled Apollo, and like him to have enjoyed eternal youth. “Both Greeks and Romans had writings and traditionary accounts of his giving laws to men, and of his conquests in India, with an army of satyrs. It were superfluous in a mere essay, to go any length in the parallel between this European god and Ayodhya, whom the Hindūs believe to have been an appearance on earth of the preserving power; to have been a conqueror of the highest renown, and the deliverer of nations from tyrants, as well as of his consort Sita, from the giant Ravan, king of Lanca, or Ceylon; and to have commanded in

* Sir William Jones, in his dissertation, mentions *Eleutherios*, among the titles of Bacchus; but this was one of the titles of Jupiter.

chief a numerous and intrepid race of those large *monkeys*, which our naturalists, or some of them, have denominated Indian satyrs. His general, the prince of satyrs, was named Hanumat, or *with high cheek-bones*. Might not this army of satyrs have been merely a race of mountaineers?—However that may be, the large breed of Indian apes is, at this moment, held in high veneration by the Hindūs, and fed with devotion by the Brahmins; who seem, in two or three places on the banks of the Ganges, to have a regular endowment for the support of them. They live in tribes of three or four hundred, are wonderfully gentle, (I speak as an eye-witness) and appear to have some kind of order and subordination in their little sylvan polity.”* We, however, state this supposed affinity between the two heroes merely as hypothetical, an observation which is applicable to all subjects whence we draw con-

* Jones.

clusions merely from what appears to us to be analogous.

The wars of Rama with Ravana, form the subject of a beautiful Sanscrit poem, called the *Ramayan*, written many ages since. “ The war of Lanca (Ceylon) is dramatically represented at the festival of Rama, on the ninth day of the new moon of Chaitra; and the drama concludes, says Holwell, who had often seen it, with an exhibition of the fire-ordeal, by which the victor’s wife Sita gave proof of her connubial fidelity. *The dialogue*, he adds, *is taken from one of the eighteen holy books*, meaning, I suppose, the Puranas; but the Hindūs have a great number of regular dramas, at least two thousand years old, and among them are several very fine ones on the story of Rama. The first poet of the Hindūs with whom we are acquainted, was the great Valmic, and his *Ramayan* is an epick poem, which, in unity of action, magnificence of imagery, and elegance of style, far surpasses the learned and elaborate

work of Nonnus,* entitled *Dionysiaca*; half of which, or twenty-four books, I perused with great eagerness when I was very young, and should have travelled to the conclusion of it, if other pursuits had not engaged me. I shall never have leisure to compare the *Dionysiacks* with the *Ramayan*, but am confident, that an accurate comparison of the two poems, would prove *Dionysos* and *Rama* to have been the same person. *Meros* is said by the Greeks to have been a mountain of India, on which their *Dionysos* was born; and *Meru*, though it generally means the north pole, in the Indian geography, is also a mountain, near the city of *Naishada*, or *Nysa*, called by the Grecian geogra-

* Nonnus Panopolites, a Christian Greek poet, born at Panopolis, in Egypt. The *Dionysiaca* is in heroic verse, in forty-eight books. Besides this, he wrote a paraphrase on the gospel of Saint John: the latter is much admired, both for style and composition; the other has been greatly criticised, and is now scarcely ever read.

phers, Dionysopolis, and universally celebrated in the Sanscrit poems, though the birth-place of Rama is supposed to have been Ayodhya, or Audh.”*

The sun, an object of adoration among all heathen nations, named Phœbus and Apollo, by the Greeks, is by the Hindūs called Surya, “whence the sect who pay him particular adoration, are called Souras. Their painters describe his car as drawn by seven green horses;”†—but it is said, that in the temple of Visweswara, at Benares, there is an ancient piece of sculpture, well executed in stone, representing this god sitting in a car drawn by a horse with *twelve heads*.‡ His charioteer, by whom he is preceded, is Arun, or *the dawn*; and among his many titles, are twelve, which denote his distinct powers in each of the twelve months; those powers are called

* Jones. † Asiatic Researches, vol. i. p. 262.

‡ Forster.

Adityas,* or sons of Aditi, by Casyapa, the Indian Uranus.

“ Surya is supposed to have descended frequently from his car, in a human shape, and to have left a race on earth, equally renowned in Indian stories with the Heliades of Greece. It is very singular, that his two sons, called Aswinau, or *Aswinicumaraw*, in the dual, should be considered as twin brothers, and painted like Castor and Pollux; but they have each the character of Esculapius among the gods,”† which seems to relate to Apollo, in his healing quality. “ They are believed to have been born of a nymph, who, in the form of a mare, was impregnated with sun-beams. I suspect the whole fable of Casyapa and his progeny, to be astronomical, and cannot but imagine that the Greek name Cassiopeia, has a relation to it.”‡

* Each of the Adityas has a particular name.

† Jones.

‡ Idem.

The sun is often styled king of the stars and planets. The name of his goddess is Sangya, who is supposed to be the mother of the river Jumna.

The moon, as Chandara, or Chandrya, different from Diana, Artemis, Cynthia, queen of the woods and patroness of hunting, is a male deity. He is represented sitting in a car, drawn by Antelopes, and holding a rabbit in the right hand. "I have not yet found a parallel in India for the goddess of the chace, who seems to have been the daughter of an European fancy, and very naturally created by the invention of Bucolic and Georgick poets: yet since the moon is a form of Iswara, the god of nature, according to the verse of the Hindū poet, Calidasa, and since Isani has been shewn to be his consort, we may consider her, in one of her characters, as Luna."*

The Palmyrans, Mesopotamians, and other people, worshipped this planet, both

* Jones.

in a male and female character. It is the deity which Strabo names *MHN*. The effigy of Lunus, or the moon as a male, is to be seen on several ancient medals. There is one in the Royal Library at Paris. On this medal he appears as a young man, with a Phrygian cap on his head, a crescent on his shoulder, behind, and a warlike instrument in his right hand.*

* This subject may perhaps be further illustrated, by the following extracts of letters addressed to the Author:—the first from the Chevalier Millin, and the other from the Chevalier Visconti:

“Plusieurs peuples de l’Asie ont adoré la Lune sous les traits d’un homme. Le Dieu *Men* (mois) en Latin *Lunus*, présidoit aux mois parcequ’ils sont réglés d’après le cours de la lune.

“Ce Dieu est figuré avec une courte tunique, le bonnet Phrygien sur la tête, et un croissant derrière l’épaule; il est seul dans son temple, sur une médaille de Galatie qui a été frappée sous Trajan; ou avec Diane comme sur une médaille de Taba dans la Carie. Ces médailles sont dans le cabinet du Roi.”—*Millin*.

“Les medailles qui représentent le Dieu Lunus, ont été frappées dans plusieurs villes de l’Asie Mineure, à Carrhes de la Mesopotamie, et ailleurs. On peut voir

But there can, we think, be no doubt of the identity of Cali, the wife of Siva, in

dans les *Numismata Selecta* de Seguin, ch. iii. No. xiv. le beau médaillon de Valerien fabriqué à Nysa de la Carie, et la médaille de Carrhes dans *Recueil* de Pellerin, tom. ii. pl. 85, No. 26.

“ Un bas-relief singulier, avec une inscription en deux langues, l’une Grecque, l’autre Syriaque Palmyrenienne, qu’on voit à Rome dans le Musée du Capitole, représente les dieux du Soleil et de la Lune en forme de deux jeunes princes se donnant la main. On en peut voir les figures dans les *Miscellanea* de Spon tout au commencement, mais elles y sont très-mal gravées. Au contraire elles le sont parfaitement dans le iv^{me} volume du *Museum Capitolinum*, par Bottari e Foggini, à la planche xviii. Le nom que cette inscription donne au Dieu de la Lune est celui de *Malachbelus*, Roi-seigneur. On croit que c’est le même que le Moloch de l’Ecriture Sainte (voyez aussi Gruter, p. 86. No. 8.).

“ D’autres inscriptions Palmyreniennes (Muratori Thesaur. Inscript. p. cxvii. No. 2.) donnent à ce même Dieu le nom d’*Iaribolus* (Iarahhbahal) Seigneur de la Lune.

“ Plusieurs orientalistes pensent que le mot Hébreu *Iareahh*, lune, étant du genre masculin, a été l’origine du Dieu Lunus mâle, comme l’autre nom de la même planète, *Lebhana*, étant féminin, a fait considérer la Lune comme une divinité femelle.

“ Les

his character of the Stygian Jove, and the Tauric Diana, Hecate, “ who is often confounded with Proserpine. To this black goddess, with a collar of golden skulls, as we see her exhibited in all her principal temples, human sacrifices were anciently offered, as the Vedas enjoined; but they have long been prohibited, as well as the sacrifices of bulls and horses. Kids are still

“ Les Grecs ont donné au Dieu Lunus le nom de ΜΗΝ, *Mensis*, qu'on retrouve sur plusieurs médailles. Voyez aussi Strabon, lib. xii. p. 557.

“ Saumaise, dans ses notes sur des passages de Spartien, et après lui M. l'Abbé le Blond, (Acad. des B. L. tom. xlii.) ont voulu distinguer le Dieu *Mensis* du Dieu *Lunus*, et Eckhel lui-même a adopté leur opinion. Ils se sont trompés. Les médailles de Carrhes, où, suivant Spartien, le culte du Dieu Lunus étoit établi, nous présentent la même figure avec les mêmes symboles, qui sur les médailles d'autres villes porte le nom de ΜΗΝ. En effet la lune s'appèle ΜΗΝ aussi bien que ΣΕΛΗΝΗ.

“ Sur les médailles d'Ancyra de Phrygie, et sur celles de Nysa de Carie, le même Dieu prend quelquefois le nom de ΚΑΜΑΡΕΙΤΗΣ qu'on dérive de *Camar*, mot Arabe qui signifie la Lune.”—*Visconti*.

See also Ælius Spartianus, *Vitæ Cæsarum*, Caracalla, c. vi. and Tertull. *Apologeticum*, c. xv.

offered to her; and, to palliate the cruelty of the slaughter, which gave such offence to Buddha, the Brahmins inculcate a belief, that the poor victims rise in the heaven of Indra, where they become the musicians of his band."

" Instead of the obsolete, and now illegal sacrifices of a man, a bull, and a horse, called Neramedha, Gomedha, and Aswamedha, the powers of nature are thought to be propitiated by the less bloody ceremonies at the end of autumn, when the festivals of Cali and Laeshmi are solemnized, nearly at the same time. Now, if it be asked, how the goddess of death came to be united with the mild patroness of abundance, I must propose another question.—How came Proserpine to be represented in the European system as the daughter of Ceres? Perhaps both questions may be answered by the proposition of natural philosophers, that *the apparent destruction of a substance, is the production of it in a different form.* The wild music of Cali's priests, at one of her festivals, brought

instantly to my recollection the Scythian measures of Diana's adorers in the splendid opera of Iphigenia in Tauris."*

Nared, a distinguished son of Brahma, may be compared with Hermes, or Mercury. The actions of Nared are the subject of a Purana.—“ He was a wise legislator, great in arts and in arms, an eloquent messenger of the gods, either to one another, or to favoured mortals, and a musician of exquisite skill. His invention of the Vina, or Indian lute, is thus described in the poem entitled Magha: *Nared sat watching from time to time his large Vina, which, by the impulse of the breeze, yielded notes that pierced successively the regions of his ear, and proceeded by musical intervals.* The law tract, supposed to have been revealed by Nared, is at this hour cited by the Pandits.”†

The consort of Mahadeva, or Siva, is more eminently marked by distinctions, than the consorts of Brahma and Vishnu,

* Jones.

† Ibid.

or any other goddess: her leading names and characters are Bhavani, Parvati, Cali, and Durga. As Bhavani, she has been already mentioned by us,* but in addition to what has been said, she may be compared to the Juno Cinxia,† or Lucina,‡ of the Romans; the Venus invoked by Lucretius at the opening of his poem on nature, “in short, the Venus presiding over generation, and who on that account sometimes exhibited the distinctive marks of the two sexes, as in her bearded statue at Rome; also in some of those compound images, named Hermæ, and in the figures which had the form of a conical marble, *for the reason of which figure, says Tacitus, we are left in the dark*; but the reason appears too plainly in the temples and paintings of Hindūstan,

* See p. 103, *supra*.

† One of the names of Juno, who, in that character, was supposed at marriages to unloose the virgin zone.

‡ A name which Juno bore in common with Diana, both being protectresses of women in labour.

where it never seems to have entered the heads of the legislators or people, that any thing natural could be offensively obscene; a singularity which pervades all their writings and conversation, but is no proof of depravity in their morals.”*

Parvati, or the mountain-born goddess, has many properties of the Olympian Juno: “her majestic deportment, high spirit, and general attributes, are the same; and we find her, both on mount Cailasa and at the banquets of the deities, uniformly the companion of her husband. One circumstance in the parallel is extremely singular: she is usually attended by her son Carticeya, who rides on a peacock; and in some drawings, her own robe seems to be spangled with eyes; to which must be added that, in some of her temples, a peacock, without a rider, stands near her image. Though Carticeya, with his six faces and numerous eyes, bears some resemblance to Argus,

* Jones.

whom Juno employed as her principal war-der, yet, as he is a deity of the second class, and a commander of celestial armies, he seems clearly to be the Orus of Egypt,* and the Mars of Italy; his name, Scanda, by which he is celebrated in one of the Puranas, has a connexion, I am persuaded, with the old Secander of Persia, whom the poets ridiculously confound with the Macedonian.”†

The consort of Siva, or Mahadeva, under

* But the Orus of Egypt, son of Osiris and Isis, appears to bear resemblance chiefly to the Apollo of the Greeks. They have by some learned mythologists been judged to be the same. From the great respect we bear to the authority of Sir William Jones, it is to be wished that he had explained his reasons for supposing Carticeya to be “the Orus of Egypt, and the Mars of Italy.” Many suppose the Orus of Egypt to be the same as the Eros of the Greeks, or Cupid of the Romans. Other learned mythologists consider him as the symbol of light, or of the sun. The Greeks seem to have thought him to respond to their Apollo, hence Orus-Apollo. Like this god, he was skilled in the healing art.

† Jones.

his name of Iswara, is named Isani; and the two seem to correspond under these titles with the Osiris and Isis of the Egyptians. Isani is represented as the patroness of the watery element; and at her festival, named *Durgotsava*, in which she is also called by her name of Bhavany, her image, after receiving all due honours, is restored to the waters.

“The attributes of Durga, or *difficult of access*, are also conspicuous in the festival which is called by her name; and in this character she resembles Minerva,—not the peaceful inventress of the fine and useful arts, but Pallas, armed with a helmet and spear: both represent heroic virtue, or valour united with wisdom; both slew demons and giants with their own hands, and both protected the wise and virtuous, who paid them due adoration. As Pallas, they say, takes her name from vibrating a lance, and usually appears in complete armour, thus *Curis*, the old Latin word for a spear, was one of Juno’s titles; and so, if Giral-

dus be correct, was Hoplosmia, which at Elis, it seems, meant a female dressed in panoply, or complete accoutrements.”*

The unarmed Minerva corresponds as patroness of science and genius, of harmony and eloquence, with Sareswati, the wife of Vishnu, and daughter of Brahma. She is supposed to have invented the Devanagari letters, and the language in which the divine laws were conveyed to mankind. The Minerva of Italy invented the flute: Sareswati presides over melody, and is usually represented with a musical instrument in her hand. The protectress of Athens was also on the same account named Musica.

In the argument to a poem addressed to Sareswati, as goddess of harmony, Sir William Jones informs us, that every allusion or epithet in it, is taken from approved treatises. “The seven notes, (says he), an artful combination of which constitutes music, and variously affects the passions, are

* Jones.

feigned to be her earliest production : and the greatest part of the hymn exhibits a correct delineation of the Ragmala, or *necklace* of musical modes, which may be considered as the most pleasing invention of the ancient Hindūs, and the most beautiful union of painting with poetical mythology and the genuine theory of music.”

“ The Hindū arrangement of the musical modes is elegantly formed on the variations of the Indian year, and the association of ideas ; a powerful auxiliary to the ordinary effect of modulation. The modes, in this system, are deified ; and as there are six seasons in India, namely, two Springs, Summer, Autumn, and two Winters, an original Rag, or god of the mode, is conceived to preside over each particular season ; each principal mode is attended by five Ragnys, or nymphs of harmony ; each has eight sons, or genii of the same divine art ; and each Rag, with his family, is appropriated to a distinct season, in which alone his melody can be sung or played at prescribed hours of the day or night : the

mode of Deipeç, or *Cupid the inflamer*, is supposed to be lost; and a tradition is current in Hindūstan, that a musician, who attempted to restore it, was consumed by fire from heaven. The natural distribution of modes would have been seven, thirty-three, and forty-four, according to the number of the minor and major secondary tones; but this order was varied for the sake of the charming fiction above-mentioned."

"The last couplet of the poem, addressed to Sareswati, alludes to the celebrated place of pilgrimage at the confluence of the Ganga and Yamna, which the Sareswaty, another sacred river, is supposed to join under ground."*

"Lacshmi is the Hindū goddess of harvests and abundance. She is also named Pedma, and Camala from the sacred Lotos or Nymphæa;—" but her most remarkable

* See Translation of a Sanscrit poem to Sareswati; in Sir William Jones's Works, 8vo. edit. vol. xiii. p. 311.

name is Sri, or in the first case Sris, which has a resemblance to the Latin, and means fortune or prosperity.—It may be contended, that, although Lacshmi may be figuratively called the Ceres of Hindūstan, yet any two or more idolatrous nations, who subsisted by agriculture, might naturally conceive a deity to preside over their labours, without having the least intercourse with each other; but no reason appears why two nations should concur in supposing that deity to be a female. One, at least, of them would be more likely to imagine that the earth was a goddess, and that the god of abundance rendered her fertile. Besides, in very ancient temples near Gaya, we see images of Lacshmi, with full breasts, and a cord twisted under her arm like a horn of plenty, which very much resemble the old Grecian and Roman figures of Ceres.”*

Ceres was the daughter of Saturn and Ops, or Vesta; and Lacshmi is the daugh-

* Jones.

ter, not indeed of Menu himself, but of Bhrigu, by whom the first code of sacred laws was promulgated.* She seems also to answer to some of the attributes of the Egyptian Isis, to whom corn, and, indeed, all the other productions of the earth were attributed. There can, however, be little doubt, we think, that Ceres and Isis were the same personages. The former was properly the goddess of agriculture, but the latter had numerous names and attributes, and hence the appellation given to her of *Myrionyma*.

The Lingam of the Hindūs seems to correspond in many respects with the Lamp-sacan god Phallus, or the Roman deity Priapus. This object of worship in India, sometimes represents both the male and female parts of generation, but generally only the former. A lamp is kept constantly burning before the image; but when the Brahmins perform their religious ceremonies, and make their offerings, which ge-

* See Asiatic Res. 8vo. edit. vol. i. p. 240.

nerally consist of flowers, it is said that *seven* lamps are lighted; which De la Croze, speaking from the information of the protestant missionaries, says, *exactly resemble the candelabras of the Jews, that are to be seen on the triumphal arch of Titus.*

Very singular and striking marks of affinity appear in the religious rites performed to Phallus, by the Egyptians and Greeks, and those by the Hindūs to Lingam; upon which occasions the emblematic representations of that deity, and the ceremonies used, seem exactly to resemble one another. The figure of Phallus was consecrated to Osiris, Dionysus, and Bacchus, who probably were the same: at the festivals of Osiris, it was carried, in Egypt, by women, and the figure of Lingam is now borne by women in Hindūstan.

Various accounts are given of the origin of this personage; but in Greece he appears to have been generally considered as the son of Bacchus and Venus, and to have been born in Lampsacus, in Asia Minor, where the goddess met Bacchus on his re-

turn from his expedition into India. From the place of his birth, on the borders of the Hellespont, he is sometimes named Hellespontiacus. His naked figure is indecent, but as god of vineyards and gardens, he is found there with a head resembling that of a satyr placed on columns or termini.

We are told that Isis, having recovered all the dispersed members of her husband Osiris, excepting those of manhood, she consecrated a semblance of them, and ordained that it should be worshipped.

As the Hindūs depend on their children for performing those ceremonies to their manes, which, they believe, tend to mitigate punishment in a future state, they consider the being deprived of progeny as a severe misfortune, and the sign of having offended the deity. By no people are duties towards the dead ever more strictly observed, or the effects of performing or neglecting them, more religiously believed, than by the Hindūs. The care of them is the obligation of the eldest male child, or in failure of male children, of the nearest male

relation. As with the Greeks, it is the elder surviving relative, who lights the funeral pile.*

Married women wear a small gold Lingam tied round the neck or arm; and worship is paid to Lingam to obtain fecundity.

The priests who devote themselves to the service of this divinity, swear to observe

* The author, happening to be at Rajahmundry, the capital of the province of that name, was visited by a Hindū; who was returning from a pilgrimage to Benares, whither he had gone to perform certain religious ceremonies for the benefit of the soul of his deceased father. He was a man of rank and fortune, and had come from Surat on the gulf of Cambay, across the peninsula, striking to the north. From a journal which he communicated, it appeared that he had visited Oudeapour, Oujein, and other places that are respected by the Hindūs. He had been to offer his devotions also at the temple of Jaggernaut, on the coast of Orixā; and, when the author saw him, was on his way to visit that of Seringham near Trichinopoly, whence he proposed to return to Surat. It would be difficult to ascertain the number of miles he had travelled, as during his journey, several of the places he visited, led him into great deviations from the common route.

inviolable chastity. They do not, like the priests of Atys, deprive themselves of the means of breaking their vows; but were it discovered that they had in any way departed from them, the punishment is death. Husbands, whose wives are barren, send them to worship Lingam at the temples; and it is supposed that the ceremonies on this occasion, if performed with proper zeal, are generally productive of the desired effect.

In the accounts of the festivals of Rama, and others of their demigods or heroes, a strong resemblance may be observed with those of Hercules and Theseus.*

The Hindūs, like the Greeks and Romans, have their household gods as well as their genii and aerial spirits. The Greeks ascribed the diseases to which men, and even cattle, are exposed, to some angry god, or

* See on the subject of the Hindū, Greek, and Italian divinities, the notes of M. Langlès to the translation of the first two volumes of the Asiatic Researches into French, vol. i. p. 273.

evil genius. The Hindūs do the same. Pythagoras pretended that the evil genii not only caused diseases, but frightful dreams.*

In India, as formerly in Greece, every wood and mountain, every fountain and stream, is sacred to some divinity. “Nul-
lus enim locus sine genio est, qui per anguem
plerumque ostenditur.”† The great rivers
claimed beings of superior order; the rivu-
lets and fountains had those of inferior
rank. Three goddesses of the waters, highly
venerated, and from whom three celebrated
rivers take their names, are—Ganga, “who
sprang, like armed Pallas, from the head of
the Indian Jove; Yamuna, daughter of

* Diogenes Laertius in Pythag. tom. ii. p. 900. (edit. Longolii).

† Servius in *Æneid*.

“The Hindū mythology has animated all nature. It has peopled the heavens, the air, the earth, and waters, with innumerable tribes of imaginary beings, arrayed in tints borrowed from the fervid imaginations of tropical climes.”—*Edinburgh Review*, vol. xvii. p. 315.

Surya, or the sun, and Sareswati. All three met at Prayaga, thence called Triveni, or *the three platted locks*; but Sareswati, according to the popular belief, sinks under ground, and rises again at Triveni near Hugli, where she rejoins her beloved Ganga.* The Brahmaputra, as the name expresses, is the son of Brahma; and that noble river, the Krishna, is sacred to Krishen, the incarnate Vishnu. It would be almost endless to enumerate the various sacred streams.

“ We have mentioned the Lotos as being highly venerated by the Hindūs. It is particularly sacred to Lacshmi, the wife of Vishnu, in her attributes of Sris, goddess of plenty, who presides over the harvests. She is sometimes represented holding a Lotos in her hand; at others sitting on one; and by poets she is frequently denominated Padma-Devi,† *the goddess of the Lotos*, Padma being one of the Sanscrit

* Jones.

† Mr. Wilford however ascribes that epithet to Cali.

names of that plant. At others they call her, *she who dwells in the Lotos*, and also *she who sprung from the Lotos.*" But the Lotos here spoken of must not be confounded with the Rhamnus Lotos of Lybia, on the coast of what was anciently called the Syrtis Minor, and which gave name to the people, called, by the Greeks, Loto-phagæ. The Rhamnus Lotos is a shrub about four or five feet high, producing numerous berries; which, being variously prepared, furnished an article of excellent food to the inhabitants of the country. Homer ascribes to it the quality of producing forgetfulness; but this must be considered as a poetical figure, to express the happiness of a people, furnished with a delicious aliment, without the necessity of labour, and which inclined those who visited the country to remain there, and forget their own.* Xenophon mentions it in his harangues to the *Ten thousand*;† and Pliny

* See *Odyssey*, lib. ix. v. 94 & seq.

† *Anab.* lib. iii.—*Philostratus*, &c.

says, it furnished subsistence to the Roman armies when traversing that part of Africa.*

A late celebrated traveller,† speaking of this plant, says: “ These (its berries), called Tomberongs, are small farinaceous berries, of a yellow colour and delicious taste, which I know to be the fruit of the *Rhamnus Lotos* of Linnæus. The negroes shewed us two large baskets full, which they had collected in the course of the day. These berries are much esteemed by the natives; who convert them into a sort of bread, by exposing them for some days to the sun, and afterwards pounding them gently in a wooden mortar, until the farinaceous part of the berry is separated from the stone. This meal is then mixed with a little water, and formed into cakes; which, when dried in the sun, resemble in colour and flavour the sweetest gingerbread. The stones are afterwards put into a vessel of water, and

* Pliny, lib. v. c. 4.—and lib. xiii. c. 17 and 18.

† See *Travels in the Interior of Africa*, by Mungo Park, 8vo. edit. p. 147 & seq.

shaken about, so as to separate the meal which may still adhere to them : this communicates a sweet and agreeable taste to the water ; and with the addition of a little pounded millet, forms a pleasant gruel called *fondi*, which is the common breakfast in many parts of Ludamar, during the months of February and March. This fruit is collected by spreading a cloth upon the ground, and beating the branches with a stick.”*

The Lotos, venerated by the Hindūs, and formerly by the Egyptians, is an aquatic plant. Sir William Jones, in the argument to two Hymns to Pracriti, says : “ It may here be observed, that Nymphæa, not Lotos, is the generic name in Europe

* See also Herodotus, lib. iv. c. 177 and 178.—Athenæus, Deipnoso. lib. xiv. c. 18, who quotes the 12th Book of Polybius, which is lost.—Theophrastus’s Hist. Plant. lib. iv. c. 4.—Shaw’s Travels, vol. i. p. 262 et seq.—Article by M. des Fontaines, Mémoires de l’Académie des Sciences, 1788, p. 443.—Rennell’s *Geographical System of Herodotus, examined and explained*, p. 625 & seq.

of the flower consecrated to Isis : the Persians know by the name of Nilufer, that species of it which botanists ridiculously call *Nelumbo*, which is remarkable for its curious pericarpium, where each of the seeds contains in miniature the leaves of a perfect vegetable. The *Lotos* of Linnæus is a papilionaceous plant, but he gives the same name to another species of *Nymphæa*, and the word *Lotos* is so constantly applied among us to the Nilufer, that any other would be hardly intelligible.”*

“ The true *Lotos* of Egypt is the *Nymphæa Nilufer*, and which in Sanscrit has all the following names: *Padma*, *Nalina*, *Aravinda*, *Maholpala*, *Camala*, *Cuseshaya*, *Sahasrapatra*, *Sarasa*, *Panceruha*, *Tamara-sa*, *Sarasiruha*, *Rajiva*, *Visaprasuna*, *Pushcara*, *Ambharuka*, and *Satapra*. The new blown flowers of the rose-coloured *Padma*, have a most agreeable fragrance ; the white and yellow have less odour; the blue I

* Jones, vol. xiii. p. 246.

am told is a native of Cashmir and Persia.”*

In Egypt it grew in the canals that conducted the water of the Nile to the neighbouring plains, and in recesses on the borders of the river itself: its tubular roots, black without, white within, sprang from the muddy soil below; the flower and leaves displayed themselves above the surface of the water.

In India it has also its existence in the water. “The seeds are very numerous, minute and round. The flowers of the blue, beautifully azure; but when full blown, more diluted, less fragrant than the red, or rose-coloured, but still with a delicate scent. The leaves are radical, subtargeted, hearted, deeply scollop-toothed. On one side dark purple, reticulated; on the other, dull green, smooth. Petals very smooth, long and tubular.” Sir William Jones observes, that there is a variety

* Jones, vol. v. p. 128.

of this species, “with leaves purplish on both sides; flowers dark crimson, calycine petals richly coloured internally, and anthers flat; furrowed, adhering to the top of the filaments: the petals are more than fifteen, less pointed and broader than the blue, with little odour.”*

Veneration for the *Lotos* continues to exist in Hindūstan, Tibet, and Nepaul, as powerfully now as in ancient times. “The Tibetians,” says Sir William Jones, “are said to embellish their temples with it, and a native of Nepal made prostrations before it on entering my study, where the fine plant and beautiful flowers lay for examination.” With the Egyptians it ornamented the head of Osiris, and it still adorns some of the divinities of India. It was supposed to have served at the birth of one of these, for his cradle. The new-born god was seen floating on a flower on the water.† A boy sitting on a *Lotos*, is found

* Jones, vol. v. p. 128.

† See *Voyage à Siam des Pères Jesuites envoyés par*

on some ancient Greek medals and engravings, and is said to represent the dawn.* But, abstracted from this tradition, both Hindūs and Egyptians paid adoration to the sun; and venerated water, considering heat and moisture as the sources of production, and indispensable to existence. The appearance, therefore, on the water of a flower of uncommon beauty, as if spreading to salute the rising orb, and of its again

le Roi (Louis XIV.) aux Indes et à la Chine;—and Sketches on the Hindūs, vol. ii. pp. 123 to 232.

* See Mémoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions, vol. iii. p. 170, and vol. xl. p. 275. M. de Guignes observes: “ Il est singulier de trouver un livre Indien qui porte le nom de *Fleur de Lotos*, plante qui étoit si célèbre en Egypte. Cette métaphore est prise des fables Indiennes. Abraham Roger rapporte, d'après le Vedam, que Dieu ayant dessein de faire le monde, avoit laissé flotter sur l'eau la feuille d'un arbre sous la forme d'un petit enfant qui jouoit avec le gros orteil dans sa bouche, et qu'il tira de son nombril une certaine fleur qu'ils nomment Tamara, d'où Brahma étoit sorti. Cette fleur qui est le Lotos, croît dans les étangs; ils l'estiment beaucoup, et Lacshmi, femme de Vishnu, est toujours représentée avec cette fleur à la main.”—See likewise Sketches on the Hindūs, vol. ii. Sketch 13.

seeming to close on his disappearing, were circumstances which might easily be interpreted by the priesthood to proceed from something more than natural causes.

Whether veneration for the Lotos was adopted by the Egyptians from the Hindūs, or whether it originated from causes common to both countries, may be doubtful; but Sir William Jones imagines that even the name Nile may have been taken from the Sanscrit word *Nila*, blue. Dionysius, he observes,* calls that river an azure

* Dionysius, *Orbis Descriptio*, &c.

Mr. Wilford informs us that Hindū authors also name this river Cali as well as Nila. “The river Cali took its name from the goddess Ma-ha-cali, supposed to have made her first appearance on its banks in the character of Rajarajeswari, called also Isani and Isi; and, in the character of Sati, she was transformed into the river itself. The word *Cala* signifies *black*; and, from the root *Cal*, it means also *devouring*, whence it is applied to Time; and from both senses in the feminine, to the goddess in her *destructive* capacity; an interpretation adopted, as we shall see hereafter, in the *Puranas*. In her character of Ma-ha-cali she has many other epithets, all implying different shades of *black*,

stream, an appearance which it is said to present, before it is disturbed by the waters flowing into it, during the rains, from the mountains of Abyssinia.

Dr. Edward Smith supposes the Indian Lotos, and the Egyptian plant, *Nymphæa Nilufer*, to be different. The former he distinguishes under the names of *Cyamus*, and the Indian Bean; and observes, that the latter became important in the Egyptian mythology, only as a substitute for the former; and hence, says he, "I have for some time presumed to deduce an argument in support of the doctrine now prevalent, on other grounds, that the religion of the Egyptians was adopted from the East." He proceeds, afterwards, to suppose the seeds of the *Cyamus* to be "the celebrated Pythagorean bean;" and he rejects the

or *dark azure*; and in the Calica-puran, they are all ascribed to the river. They are Cali, or Cala, Nila, Asita, Shyama, or Shyamala, Mechaca, Anjanabha, Crishna." See *Asiat. Res.* vol. iii. p. 303, article on Egypt and the Nile from the ancient books of the Hindūs, by Mr. Francis Wilford.

various conjectures of Aristotle and Cicero, which are unquestionably far from being satisfactory. It has, indeed, been objected to Dr. Smith's opinion, that it cannot be imagined that Pythagoras would forbid the use of an exotic vegetable, perhaps even unknown in Greece.* The argument is specious, but not conclusive. The author of it allows that the beans of the Lotos preserve their qualities for years; and we know that many of the productions of Africa and Asia, were, in the time of Pythagoras, brought in abundance to Greece, especially to Athens, and consequently to Magna Græcia. But Diogenes Laertius says, that beans were forbidden by Pythagoras *in conformity to the decrees of the priesthood who preside at the mysteries*. Therefore, taking this as the only reason assigned by him who made the ordinance, it certainly gives strength to Dr. Smith's supposition, and confirms the opinion entertained of Pythagoras having borrowed many of his

* Botanical Magazine, vol. xxiii. pl. 903.

religious tenets from the Hindūs, not from the Egyptians; and that he issued the ordinance as one of those tenets, without presuming to explain the mystery in which it was involved.*

Herodotus, when speaking of the Egyptian Lotos, says, that the inhabitants used both its seed and root as articles of food; and he adds, that the seed resembled that of the poppy, and that the root was round, and about the size of an ordinary apple.† If we admit this statement of the father of history to be correct, it appears to afford additional proof in favour of the statements above given; for it is a well known fact, that no extremity, no reward whatever, will induce a Hindū to eat of the Lotos.

The aquatic plant that bears the general name of Lotos, though of various species, is probably of the same genus: but how it

* In the works attributed to him, there is one *on Mysteries*, which began by saying, *respect in silence sacred things*.

† Herodotus, lib. ii. c. 92.

came to obtain the name of Lotos, we know not; as the Rhamnus Lotos, which (as already observed) gave the name to the people called by the Greeks Lotophagæ, is a shrub growing in a dry soil.*

But, besides the Lotos, many other flowers were anciently, as they are now, objects of veneration with the Hindūs. They hold principal places in their mythology, and furnish to their poets many beautiful allegories. Those venerated by the Egyptians and Greeks, are so universally known, as to make it superfluous to repeat their names; we shall, however, mention a few of those

* Besides the different authors above quoted on the subject of the aquatic Lotos, see Theophrastus, on Plants.—Dioscorides, on what is termed *Materia Medica*.—Prosper Alpinus de Plant. Exotic.; and *Historia Egypti Naturalis*.—Rumphius, *Herbarium Amboinense*, vol. vi. p. 168.—*Hortus Malabaricus*, vol. ii. The few words Virgil says of it in the *Georgics*, are of no consequence, and evidently refer to the shrub of the Syrtis Minor: nor does the short mention made of it by Diodorus Siculus throw any light on the subject; but he seems to allude to an aquatic plant.

which enter into the mythology of the Hindūs.

Sara, or Arrow-cane, named also Gundra, or Playful, and Tajanaca, or Acute. "This beautiful and superb grass, is highly celebrated in the Puranas; the Indian god of war was born in a grove of it, which burst into a flame; the gods gave notice of his birth to the nymph of the Pleiads, who descended and suckled the child, thence named Carticeya. This plant is often described with praise by the Hindū poets, for the whiteness of its blossoms; which, by the effects of the sun-beams, give to a large plain, at some distance, the appearance of a broad river. The internodal parts of the culms, are made into implements that serve the inhabitants of Hindūstan to write on their polished paper."*

Durva, called likewise Amanta, belongs to the genus *Agrostis* of Linnæus. "Its flowers, in their perfect state, are among the loveliest objects in the vegetable world,

* Jones.

and appear, through a lens, like minute rubies and emeralds in constant motion from the least breath of air. It is the sweetest and most nutritious pasture for cattle, and its utility, added to its beauty, induced the Hindūs in their earliest ages to believe that it was the mansion of a benevolent nymph. It is celebrated in the Vedas, in the text of the A't'harvana."*

The Cusa, or Cusha, named also Darbha and Pavitra, by the description of its leaves, seems to be the *Ficus Religiosa* of Linnæus. "Every law-book, and almost every poem in Sanscrit contains frequent allusions to the holiness of this plant; and in the fourth Veda we have the following address to it at the close of a terrible incantation: *Thee, O Darbha, the learned proclaim a divinity, not subject to age or death; thee, they call the arm of Indra, the preserver of regions, the destroyer of enemies: a gem that gives increase to the field. At the time when the ocean resounded, when the clouds mur-*

* Jones.

*mured, and lightnings flashed, then was Darbha produced, pure as a drop of fine gold. Some of the leaves taper to a most acute evanescent point, whence the Pundits often say of a sharp minded man, that his intellects are as acute as the point of the Cusa leaf.”**

The Bandhuca, a species of the *Ixora* of Linnæus, is often mentioned by the Hindū poets. It is perhaps the *Ixora Coccinea* venerated by the Chinese under the name of Santanhoā.

The Singata, placed by the Hindūs among their lunar constellations, seems to be the same as the *Trapa Bicornis* of Linnæus.

Chandana, or Sandalum, is frequently mentioned in the ancient books of the Hindūs.—“A Sanscrit stanza, of which the following version is literally exact, alludes to the belief that the Vansa, or Bhânse, or bamboos, as they are vulgarly called, often take fire by collision : it is addressed,

under the allegory of the Sandal tree, to a virtuous man dwelling in a town inhabited by contending factions: *Delight of the world! beloved Chandana! stay no longer in this forest, which is overspread with pernicious Vensas, whose hearts are unsound; and who, being themselves confounded in the scorching flames, kindled by their mutual attrition, will consume, not their own families merely, but this whole wood.*"*

Camalata, or Suryacanti, or Sunshine; by Linnæus, Ipomœa. "Its elegant blossoms, are *celestial rosy red, love's proper hue*, and have justly procured it the name of Camalata, or Love's Creeper. It may also mean a mythological plant, by which all desires are granted to such as inhabit the heaven of Indra; and if ever flower was worthy of Paradise, it is our charming Ipomœa. Many species of this genus, and of its near ally, the Convolvulus, grow wild in our Indian provinces, some spreading a purple light over the hedges, some snow-

* Jones.

white, with a delicate fragrance, one breathing after sunset the odour of cloves.”*

The Cadamba, or Nipa, Priyaca, Hali-preya, which is also distinguished by other names, appears to be the *Nauclea* of Linnæus. Of this there are three species on the coast of Coromandel and in the northern Circars; which, we believe, are also to be found in most other parts of Hindūstan: 1. The *Parvifolia*, or Bota-cadamie, which grows to a large tree; its flowers are small, of a light yellow colour; the wood, of a light chestnut, firm and close grained, is used for a variety of purposes. 2. The *Cordifolia*, or Daduga of the natives; the flowers of which resemble the former; the tree is also large; the wood is of a beautiful light yellowish colour, very close grained, and much used for furniture; planks of it may be had from one to above two feet diameter: both trees are natives of mountainous parts. 3. The *Purpurea*, or Bagada of the Hindūs, is a small tree, chiefly found in val-

leys; the flowers are larger than those of the two others, and of a purple colour.* “ It is one of the most elegant of Indian trees, and one of the holiest in the opinion of the Hindūs. The poet Calidas alludes to it by the name of Nipa; and it may be justly celebrated among the beauties of summer, when the multitude of aggregate flowers, each consisting of a common receptacle perfectly globular, and covered uniformly with gold-coloured florets, from which the white thread-form styles conspicuously emerge, exhibits a rich and singular appearance on the branchy trees, decked with foliage charmingly verdant. The flowers have an odour very agreeable in the open air, which the ancient Indians compared to the scent of new wine, and they call the plant, Halipreya, or *beloved by Halin*, that is, the third Rama, who was evidently the Bacchus of India.”†

* See Roxburgh's *Plants of the Coast of Coromandel*, vol. i. pp. 40 and 41.

† Jones.

Asoca, or Venjula. The flowers of this tree are “ fascicled, fragrant just after sunset and before sun-rise, when refreshed by the evening and morning dew ; beautifully diversified with tints of orange-scarlet, of pale yellow, and of bright orange, and forms a variety of shades, according to the age of each blossom that opens in the fascicle. The vegetable world scarcely exhibits a richer sight than an Asoca tree in full bloom : it is about as high as an ordinary cherry-tree. It perpetually occurs in the old Indian poems, and in treatises on religious rites.”*

Parnasa, or Tulasi, termed by Linnæus *Ocymum*, sacred to Krishna, and highly venerated by the Hindūs, “ who have given one of its names to a sacred grove of their Parnassus, on the banks of the Yamuna. A fable truly Ovidian is told in the Puranas concerning the metamorphosis of the nymph Tulasi, who was beloved by the

* Jones.

pastoral god, into the shrub which has since borne her name.”*

Patali, or Patala, the *Bignonia* of Linnæus. The flowers of this tree are exquisitely fragrant, are preferred by bees to all other flowers, and compared by poets to the quiver of Camadeva, the god of love. The Patali blossoms early in the spring, before a leaf appears on the tree, but the fruit is not ripe till the following winter.”†

Nagacesara, the *Mesua* of Linnæus, and which is described in the *Hortus Malabaricus*,‡ under the name of *Balutta Tsiampacum*. “This tree is one of the most beautiful on the earth; the delicious odour of its blossoms justly gives them a place in the quiver of Camadeva. In the poem called *Naishadha*, there is a wild but elegant couplet, where the poet compares the white of the Nagacesara, from which the bees were scattering the pollen of the numerous gold-coloured anthers, to an alabaster wheel on which Cama was whetting

* Jones.

† Idem.

‡ Vol. iii. p. 63.

his arrows, while sparks of fire were dispersed in every direction.”*

Palasa. “ The flowers raceme-fascicled, large, red, silvered with down. Few trees are considered by the Hindūs as more venerable and holy. The Palasa is named with honour in the Vedas, in the laws of Menu, and in Sanscrit poems, both sacred and popular. It gave its name to the memorable plain vulgarly called Plassey, but properly Palasi.† A grove of Palasas was formerly the principal ornament of Crishnagar, where we still see the trunk of an aged tree, near six feet in circumference.”‡

Sami, Sactu-p’hala, or Siva, the Mimosa of Linnæus, but of which there are numerous species. “ The spikes, or flowers, yellow, perfuming the woods and roads with a rich aromatic odour. The gum, semi-pellucid,

* Jones.

† Where the late Lord Clive obtained, on the 23rd of June, 1757, a victory over Surajah Dowlah, which, in its consequences, gave to the English the possession of the rich provinces of Bengal.

‡ Jones.

is of the same qualities, but more transparent than that of the Nilotic, or Arabian species. The wood, extremely hard, is used by the Brahmins to kindle their sacred fire, by rubbing two pieces of it together, when of a proper age and sufficiently dried.”*

Bilva, or Malura, by Linnæus termed *Crataeva*, of which there are three species, but the one here referred to is the *Crataeva Religiosa*. This plant bears a large spheroidal berry, with numerous seeds. “The fruit nutritious, warm, cathartic; in taste delicious, in fragrance exquisite. It is called *Sriphala*, because it sprang, say the Indian poets, from the milk of *Sri*, the goddess of abundance, who bestowed it on mankind at the request of *Iswara*, the god of nature, whence he alone wears a chaplet of *Bilva* flowers: to him only the Hindūs offer them; and when they see any of them fallen on the ground, they take them up with reverence, and carry them to his temple.”†

* Jones.

† Idem.

Besides other proofs that might be produced, to shew that polytheism was not of Grecian origin, a passage of Herodotus may be mentioned, where, in speaking of the Pelasgi, he says, that they distinguished not the Gods by any names; they called them *Gods*, by which they meant to say *ordainers*; that they afterwards learnt the names of divinities from the Egyptians; that they consulted the oracle at Dodona, to know if they should adopt them, which answered that they might, and that from the Pelasgi they were spread through Greece. There, as in India, the number of divinities was afterwards gradually increased by deifying wise men and heroes. Many deities and objects of adoration were also invented by poets, who ventured sometimes even to personify inanimate things, as well as mental qualities:—fountains, groves, and admired trees and flowers.

The Hindū divinities at their feasts drank a beverage named Amrūti, as the Grecian gods drank their Ambrosia.

“ It might be proved beyond controversy,

that we now live among the adorers of those very deities, who were worshipped under different names in old Greece and Italy ; and among the professors of those philosophical tenets, which the Ionic and Attic writers illustrated with all the beauties of their melodious language. On one hand we see the trident of Neptune, the eagle of Jupiter, the satyrs of Bacchus, the bow of Cupid, and the chariot of the Sun ; on another we hear the cymbals of Rhea, the songs of the Muses, and the pastoral tales of Apollo Nomius. In more retired scenes, in groves, and in seminaries of learning, we may perceive the Brahmins, and the Sarmanes, mentioned by Clemens, disputing in the forms of logic, or discoursing on the vanity of human enjoyments, on the immortality of the soul, her emanation from the eternal mind, her debasement, wandering, and final union with her source. The six philosophical schools, whose principles are explained in the *Der-sana Sastra*, comprise all the metaphysics of the old Academy, the Stoa, and the

Lyceum; nor is it possible to read the Vedanta, or the many fine compositions in illustration of it, without believing that Pythagoras and Plato derived their sublime theories from the same fountain with the sages of India.”*

In addition to what is here said by Sir William Jones, we shall observe, that Philostratus makes Pythagoras say to Thespision, when reproaching him for his partiality to the Egyptians: “Admirer as you are of the philosophy which the Indians invented, why do you not attribute it to its real parents, rather than to those who are only so by adoption.” Iarchus, the Hindū

* Third Annual Discourse of Sir William Jones to the Asiatic Society. See his Works, 8vo. edit. vol. iii. p. 36.

“We may venture to affirm, that, on attentive inquiry, we shall find in the Puranas, and other fabulous writings of the Hindūs, almost the whole mythology of the Greeks and Romans. Some particulars may be modified, and heroes in both of the latter countries may be found, who have been transformed into demi-gods; but all the principal features of the system may be traced.”—*Edinburgh Review*, No. 29.

philosopher, likewise says to Apollonius of Tyana, who asked his opinion concerning the soul :—" We think of it what Pythagoras taught you, and what we taught the Egyptians." Lucian, when making Philosophy complain to Jupiter, of some who had dishonoured her by their conduct, supposes the Indians to have been the first who received her amongst them : " I went amongst the Indians, and made them come down from their elephants and converse with me. From them I went to the Ethiopians, and then came to the Egyptians."

" De l'école Ionienne sortit le chef d'une école beaucoup plus célèbre. Pythagore, né à Samos, vers l'an 590, avant notre ère, fut d'abord disciple de Thales, qui lui conseilla de voyager en Egypte, où il se fit initier aux mystères des prêtres, pour connoître à fond leur doctrine. Ensuite, il alla sur les bords du Gange, interroger les Bracmanes. De retour dans sa patrie, le despotisme sous lequel elle gémissait alors, le força de s'en exiler, et il se retira en Italie où il fonda son école. Toutes les

vérités astronomiques de l'école Ionienne furent enseignés avec plus de développement dans celle de Pythagore; mais ce qui la distingue principalement, est la connoissance des deux mouvemens de la terre, sur elle-même et autour du soleil. Pythagore l'enveloppa d'un voile obscur, pour la cacher au vulgaire; mais elle fut exposée dans un grand jour par son disciple Philolaus.*

The four Yugs, or ages of the Hindūs, bear so marked an affinity to those of the Greeks and Romans, as we conceive leaves but little doubt of their origin. Among the latter nations, they were distinguished by the epithets of golden, silver, brazen, and iron ages. Those of the Hindūs are named Satya, Tirtah, Dwapar, and Kaly : names, which, like those of the Greeks and Romans, express a progressive decline from purity to baseness. Though the Satya, like the Saturnian age, abounds in precious things, Satya strictly means truth

* Exposition du Système du Monde, par M. La Place, p. 333.

and probity. “ The duration of the Indian Yugs is disposed so regularly and artificially, that it cannot be admitted as natural or probable. Men do not become reprobate in a geometrical progression, or at the termination of regular periods; yet so well proportioned are the Yugs, that even the length of human life is diminished as they advance, from an hundred thousand years in a subdecuple ratio; and, as the number of principal Avatars in each decreases arithmetically from four, so the number of years in each decreases geometrically, and all together constitute the extravagant sum of four million three hundred and twenty thousand years; which aggregate, multiplied by seventy-one, is the period in which every Menu is believed to preside over the world. The comprehensive mind of an Indian chronologist has no limits; and the reigns of fourteen Menus are only a single day of Brahma, fifty of which days have elapsed, according to the Hindūs, from the time of the creation. That all this puerility, as it seems at first

view, may be only an astronomical riddle, and allude to the apparent revolution of the fixed stars, of which the Brahmins made a mystery, I readily admit, and am even inclined to believe; but so technical an arrangement excludes all idea of serious history.”*

They tell us, that in the first ages, men were greatly superior to the present race, not only in the length of their lives, but in the powers of their bodily and mental faculties; and that in consequence of vice, they gradually declined, and at last in this, the earthen age, or Kaly-Yug, degenerated to what we now see them.

In addition, however, to what has been

* Jones, *Asiat. Res.* vol. i. 8vo. edit. p. 236 and seq.

It seems now to be generally understood by those who have studied and examined the writings of the Hindūs in their original language, that those periods absolutely refer to astronomical revolutions, particularly the procession of the equinoxes; and that the Brahmins gave that immense space of time to their Yugs, and employed the mystic jargon in which they express themselves, to confound and excite the wonder of the ignorant.

said on the affinity that exists between the mythology and ages of the Greeks and Hindūs, instances of resemblance are to be discovered in many of the practices, notions, and opinions of both nations. We find the same belief in the faculty, supposed to be enjoyed by certain persons, of looking into futurity, and discovering the most hidden secrets;* in magic and incantation; and

* The Astrologers of India hold at least as conspicuous a place in that country, as those of the Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans, held with them. The mind seems to be naturally disposed to superstition. From impressions made by pretended examples of divination, not only Hindūs, but Mohammedans frequently, in moments of anxiety, consult the Indian astrologers. A remarkable instance of this occurs in the life of Tippoo Sultan, a man of a bold, intrepid character, and, of all Musalmāns, one of the most zealous and intolerant in respect to his religion. The circumstance we allude to, happened on the day that his capital was taken by storm.

“ On the Sultan’s return to his apartment,” (from visiting the ramparts) “ an incident occurred which tended much to depress his spirits, and to diminish the courage of his attendants. A procession of Brahmin astrologers now waited on him, and announced, that

the catalogue of omens, of things and days considered as lucky, or unfortunate, will be found on examination, to be equally numerous with those of the Greeks, and in many instances precisely the same.*

some dreadful misfortune would befall him on *that day*, unless averted by the prayers of the righteous, and by pious offerings.

“ Whether the Sultan’s mind was now depressed by fear, or tainted by superstition, he repaired to his palace, and issued orders for *all the ceremonies* prescribed by the Brahmins to be duly performed, and, having given them several presents, requested their prayers for the prosperity of his government.

“ His father, Hyder Ally, was very superstitious, and never commenced any undertaking without consulting the Brahmins, whom he liberally paid. This is the first time we have heard of Tippoo’s consulting them.”†

* Many examples might be adduced, of this affinity; but we shall mention one only in regard to omens, and which, ridiculous as it may seem, did not by any means appear so to the Hindūs. A Rajah of an illustrious family in the province of Rajahmundry, demanded an interview with the *chief*, or European governor. The day

† See “ A Descriptive Catalogue of the Oriental Library of the late Tippoo Sultan, and Memoirs of his life, &c.” by Charles Stewart, Esq. p. 87.

and hour were accordingly fixed for their meeting, which was at the Government House, in a fort adjoining to the town also named Rajahmundry, and which is the capital of the province. The Rajah, whose place of residence was about thirty miles from it, but who had come thither on purpose for the meeting, was lodged in the town. He set out for the interview, accompanied by a numerous retinue, but in coming through one of the gates of the fort, a soldier happened to sneeze. The Rajah immediately gave orders to halt, offered up some short prayer, and sending for his first minister, who was in a palankin behind him, ordered him to wait on the chief, with a request to defer their meeting until some more auspicious moment. On returning to the place where he lodged, Brahmins and divines were summoned, to be consulted on the occasion. Yet the Rajah, abstracted from superstitious prejudices, was a sensible man. His prejudices were the effects of impressions received in infancy, and which his education instead of correcting, had confirmed.

With the Greeks and Romans, sneezing was regarded as infallibly portentous. But things considered as ominous equally by the Hindūs, and by the ancient inhabitants of Egypt, Greece, and Italy, are too numerous to be quoted. We shall only add one other example. It is the regard for the right side, in preference to the left. We shall select an instance, which shews that even the most enlightened minds, and men of the most enterprizing characters, are not always free from the influence of early impressions, and hence it is of the highest importance to guard children from

imbibing any notions that may tend to shackle the mind, or weaken the powers of reason. Pliny very gravely reports, that on the day when Augustus narrowly escaped from being killed in a mutiny, it was recollected that he had put on the left shoe before the right. “*Divus Augustus laevum prodidit sibi calceum præposterè inductum, quo die seditione militari propè afflictus est.*” (Plin. lib. ii. c. 7.) In dressing, the right side of the body was always clothed first. If a servant presented his master with the left sleeve of his garment first, or his left shoe or sandal, it was considered as portending something unlucky.

CHAPTER V.

ON THE PHILOSOPHY AND THEOLOGY OF THE HINDŪS.

WHATEVER variety of opinions may obtain among the Hindūs concerning spirit and matter, as well as the creation and deluge, the fundamental principles of their religion consist in the belief of the existence of one Supreme Being only, of the immortality of the soul, and a future state of rewards and punishments. Their precepts of morality inculcate the practice of virtue as necessary for procuring happiness even in this transient life; their religious doctrines make their felicity in a future state to depend on it.*

* “ The doctrine of the metempsychosis is fully explained in the Institutes of Menu. The other dog-

When speaking of the Supreme Being, they frequently use the expressions of, *the first cause ; the universal and eternal essence ; that which has ever been, and which will ever continue ; that which vivifies and pervades all things ; he who is every where present, and causes the celestial bodies to revolve in the course he has prescribed to them.**

mata may be epitomized in the following heads :—1. The existence of one God, from whom all things proceed, and to whom all must return. 2. A tripartite division of the good principle, for the purposes of creation, preservation, and renovation. 3. The necessary existence of an evil principle, occupied in counteracting the benevolent purposes of the first, in their execution by the devata, or subordinate genii, to whom is entrusted the control over the various operations of nature.”—*Edinburgh Review*, vol. xvii. p. 322.

* “ One great and incomprehensible Being has alone existed from all eternity. Every thing we behold, and we ourselves, are portions of him. The soul, mind, or intellect, of gods and men, and of all sentient creatures, are detached portions of the universal soul, to which at stated periods they are destined to return. But the mind of finite beings is impressed by an uninterrupted series of illusions, which they consider as real, until again united to the great fountain of truth. Of

This religion, in its true abstract sense, is what we understand by deism. The love of imagery in a people of fertile and lively imaginations, may have occasioned their personifying what they conceived to be some of the attributes of God ; or such personification may have arisen from the idea which generally prevails, of the necessity of presenting things in a way better adapted to the comprehensions of the vulgar, than the abstruse idea of an undiscrivable, invisible being ; and hence, probably, the invention of a Brahma, a Vishnu and a Siva.*

these illusions, the first and most essential is termed Ahangcār, or individuality. By its influence, when detached from its source, the soul becomes ignorant of its own nature, origin, and destiny. It considers itself as a separate existence, and no longer a spark of the divinity, a link of one immeasurable chain, an infinitely small but indispensable portion of one great whole. The divine being above described, is not the object of worship : he is named Brahm, a noun of the neuter gender.”—*Edinburgh Review*, vol. xvii. pp. 320, 321.

* “ The first created beings were the persons of the

Brahma is represented in a human shape, with four heads looking to the four quar-

Hindū Triad, viz. Brahma, Vishnu, and Iswara (or Siva). The name of the first is derived from a root signifying to expand: to him was assigned the task of creation. The name of Vishnu comes from the root *vis*, which means to penetrate, or pervade: the world, after its creation, was entrusted to him to preserve. The word Iswara signifies powerful. His is the power of destruction, or rather, as the Hindūs consider it, of renovation, or mutation of form, which implies the destruction of that which precedes. Hence, the phallus, the emblem of production, becomes that of the god of destruction. The Roman poet has distinctly expressed the idea, which led the Indians and Egyptians to assign this apparently incompatible symbol to Iswara:

“ Haud igitur penitus pereunt quæcunque videntur :

“ Quando alia ex alio reficit natura, nec ullam

“ Rem gigni patitur, nisi morte adjutam aliena.”

And again—

“ Nam quodcunque suis mutatum finibus exit,

“ Continuo hoc mors est illius, quod fuit ante.”

From his own substance, the Divine Being then formed the goddess Pracriti, or nature. She, under different forms and names, is the consort of the three gods who govern the universe. 1st. As Sareswati, she is the consort of Brahma, the patroness of learning, the goddess

ters of the world : Vishnu and Siva, under various forms, but no emblem or visible sign of Brihm, the omnipotent, is to be found. Those who openly profess deism in India, justly consider the great mystery of the existence of the Supreme Ruler of the universe, as beyond human comprehension, as much as space without limits, or time without beginning or end: man can conceive and measure parts of time and space; but, would he carry his thoughts to extension that has no bounds, and to duration that never began and will ever continue, he must be lost and confounded in the maze that presents itself. Every creature, however, who is endowed with the faculty of thinking, must be conscious of the existence of God, a first

of eloquence, and the inventress of the lyre. 2dly. As Sri, she is the beloved of Vishnu, the goddess of abundance and of fertility. 3rd. As Isā, she is the companion of Iswara, and the vanquisher of the giants. These were the gods (deva) produced by the volition of the deity. All other beings were produced by Brahma, after creating the world."—*Edinburgh Review*, vol. xvii. p. 321.

cause: the attempt to explain the nature of that Being, or in any way to assimilate it with our own, the Hindū deists consider not only as a proof of folly, but also of extreme impiety.

The system of representing the attributes of God by ostensible objects, as practised by all the believers in the doctrines of the Vedas, once established, was afterwards nourished, extended, and involved in mystery, by an ingenious and artful priesthood. As the Brahmins rigidly monopolized learning and the sciences, all others were naturally exposed to receive implicitly what was promulgated by them; and things the most simple in themselves, were held out to, and believed, by the multitude, as proceeding from supernatural causes. The aid of priests, as the only agents between man and the divinities, became constantly wanted, either to procure their protection or avert their wrath. In multiplying divinities, they found new sources of wealth; every one had some deity to fear, or to solicit, and who on those occasions

was to be approached with some offering. But in a country, where the food of the people consists almost entirely of vegetables, and where, as in India, no part of the year is sterile, perhaps no divinity has been so productive to the Brahmins as Lacshmi, who as *Sris*, corresponds with the Grecian Ceres ; to whom must be added Bhavani, who in one of her attributes is likewise named the goddess of abundance.

The making of pious vows in case of escape from danger, or of success in some projected enterprize, seems to be as much encouraged by the priesthood, and practised by the people of India, as it was formerly in Greece, and in modern times by pious Catholics. *Napoli*

The book of the Hindū Scriptures, named Veda, is supposed to be of divine origin, revealed by Brahma to Menu, by him communicated to a holy personage, or demigod, named Bhrigu, and afterwards arranged in its present order by a learned sage, who obtained the name of Vyasa, or Veda-vya-

sa, compiler of the Vedas. He divided it into four parts, named Rich, Yajush, Saman, and At'harvana; each of which bears the denomination of Veda, Rig-veda, Yajur-veda, Sama-veda, and At'harva-veda; but doubts exist whether the last be really a part of the original Veda, or whether it be not a chapter added to it.*

* See article on "the Vedas, or sacred writings of the Hindūs," by Mr. Colebrook, *Asiat. Res.* vol. viii. p. 337.—and a note, by M. Langlès, in the first translation into French of that work, vol. i. p. 393.

A complete copy of the Vedas, in eleven volumes in folio, in the Devanagary character, and Sanscrit language, was presented to the British Museum by the late Colonel Polier, who is several times mentioned in the *Asiatic Researches*, and in Rennell's *Memoir of a Map of Hindūstan*. Colonel Polier had resided a number of years in India, first in the military service of the English, afterwards at Delhy in that of the Emperor Shaw Allum, and during his stay in that country, had bestowed much pains in acquiring a knowledge of the learning and religion of the Hindūs.

Sir William Jones says, "That the Vedas are very ancient, and far older than any other Sanscrit compositions, I will venture to assert from my own examination of them, and a comparison of their style with that of the Purana, or Dharma Sastra."

The work named Upanishad, contains chiefly extracts from the Vedas; the Upaveda, commentaries on them.

The poem entituled the Maha-bharat, or the *Great Bharat*, relates the wars between the Kourous and the Pandous. It contains, we are told, no less than 125,000 verses, and is supposed to have been written by Krishna Douyphen Vyas above 4,000 years ago. *(A famous battle, said to have been fought at the beginning of the Kaly-Youg, near the spot where Delhy now stands, gave the sovereignty to Yuddhish-thira, the oldest of the Pandous. Arjuna, who bears a conspicuous part, and is said to have been a favourite of the god Vishnu, never himself reigned, though his son succeeded to the throne.**

The Pouranas, consisting of eighteen volumes in verse, are histories. The Oupa-

* An episode of this poem, containing dialogues between Krishna and Arjuna, named "Bhagvat Geeta," was translated from the Sanscrit into English, by Mr., now Dr. Charles Wilkins.

Pourana, which is an addition to those, consists also of eighteen volumes, containing things said to have been omitted in the Pouranas, as well as a commentary on each. In this work, beside various other matters, is the epic poem, named Ramayan, containing the wars and heroic feats of Rama, which are related in twenty-four thousand couplets.*

The Shastras, and the commentaries upon them, are, we believe, still more voluminous than any of the other sacred books above-mentioned. The Dherma-Shastra alone consists of above ten large volumes, comprehending all law books of authority.†

But it would be useless to recapitulate

* An English translation of the Ramayuna has been executed by Drs. Carey and Marshman, in three vols. 4to.

† “The word *Sastra*, derived from a root signifying *to ordain*, means generally an *ordinance*, and particularly a sacred ordinance delivered by inspiration : properly, therefore, this word is applied only to sacred literature, of which the text exhibits an accurate sketch.”—*Jones*.

the names of all the numerous Hindū writings that have been mentioned of late years, unless we were at the same time to give an analysis of each: we shall, therefore, only observe, that from the researches and examinations of learned orientalists, it fully appears, that the books of the Hindūs contain not only their civil and religious institutions, but also treat of all the various branches of science and literature which are known to, or practised by Europeans; though unquestionably some of the sciences have, in the course of time, and in consequence of discoveries, been improved, and may continue to receive still further improvements.*

The following extracts from their works, will serve to illustrate what has been advanced with respect to the real tenets of the Hindū religion.

* Those who may wish to inform themselves more particularly on this interesting subject, are recommended to consult the works already quoted in the course of this essay, together with those which are referred to in the following pages.

“By one Supreme Ruler is this universe pervaded; even every world in the whole circle of nature. Enjoy pure delight, O man, in abandoning all thoughts of this perishable world; and covet not the wealth of any creature existing.”

“There is one Supreme Spirit, which nothing can shake, more swift than the thought of man.”

“That Supreme Spirit moves at pleasure, but in itself is immovable: it is distant from us, yet near us: it pervades this whole system of worlds, yet is infinitely beyond it.”

“The man who considers all beings as existing even in the Supreme Spirit, and the Supreme Spirit as pervading all beings, henceforth views no creature with contempt.”

“In him who knows that all spiritual beings are the same in kind with the Supreme Spirit,—what room can there be for delusion of mind, or what room for sorrow, when he reflects on the identity of spirit?”

“The pure enlightened soul assumes a

luminous form, with no gross body, with no perforation, with no veins, or tendons,—unblemished, untainted by sin;—itself being a ray from the infinite spirit, which knows the past, and the future,—which pervades all,—which existed with no cause but itself,—which created all things as they are in ages most remote.”

“To those regions, where evil spirits dwell, and which utter darkness involves, will such men surely go after death, as destroy the purity of their own soul.”

“They who are ignorantly devoted to the mere ceremonies of religion, are fallen into thick darkness; but they surely have a thicker gloom around them, who are solely attached to speculative science.”

“A distinct reward, they say, is reserved for ceremonies, and a distinct reward, they say, for divine knowledge; adding, *This we have heard from sages who declared it to us.*”

“He alone is acquainted with the nature of ceremonies, and with that of speculative science, who is acquainted with both at

once: by religious ceremonies he passes the gulph of death, and by divine knowledge he attains immortality."

"They, who adore only the appearances and forms of the deity, are fallen into thick darkness; but they surely have a thicker gloom around them, who are solely devoted to abstract thoughts."

"A distinct reward, they say, is obtained by adoring the forms and attributes, and a distinct reward, they say, by adoring the abstract essence; adding: *This we have heard from sages who declare it to us.*"

"O M, Remember me, divine Spirit!"

"O M, Remember my deeds."

"That all-pervading spirit, that spirit which gives light to the visible sun, even the same in kind am I, though infinitely distant in degree. Let my soul return to the immortal spirit of God, and then let my body, which ends in ashes, return to dust!"

"O Spirit, who pervadest fire, lead us in a straight path to the riches of beatitude! Thou, O God, possessest all the treasures

of knowledge: remove each foul taint from our souls; we continually approach thee with the highest praise, and the most fervid adoration."

"As a tree, the lord of the forest, even so, without fiction, is man; his hairs are as leaves; his skin, as exterior bark."

"Through the skin flows blood; through the rind, sap: from a wounded man, therefore, blood gushes, as the vegetable fluid from a tree that is cut."

"His muscles are as interwoven fibres; the membrane round his bones as interior bark, which is closely fixed; his bones are as the hard pieces of wood within: their marrow is composed of pith."

"Since the tree, when felled, springs again from the root, from what root springs mortal man when felled by the hand of death?"

"Say not, he springs from seed: seed surely comes from the living. A tree, no doubt, rises from seed, and after death has a visible renewal."

"But a tree which they have plucked up

by the root, flourishes individually no more. From what root then springs mortal man when felled by the hand of death?—who can make him spring again to birth?”

“God, who is perfect wisdom, perfect happiness. He is the final refuge of the man, who has liberally bestowed his wealth, who has been firm in virtue, who knows and adores that Great One.”

“Let us adore the supremacy of that divine sun, the godhead who illuminates all, who recreates all, from whom all proceed, to whom all must return, whom we invoke to direct our understandings aright in our progress towards his holy seat.”

“What the sun and light are to this visible world, such is truth to the intellectual and invisible universe; and, as our corporeal eyes have a distinct perception of objects enlightened by the sun, thus our souls acquire certain knowledge, by meditating on the light of truth, which emanates from the Being of beings: that is the light by which alone our minds can be directed in the path to beatitude.”

That Being “without eyes sees, without ears hears all; he knows whatever can be known, but there is none who knows him: Him the wise call the great, supreme, pervading spirit.”

Of this verse, and a few others, a Pandit, named Radhacant, gives the following paraphrase.

“Perfect truth; perfect happiness; without equal; immortal; absolute unity; whom neither speech can describe, nor mind comprehend; all-pervading; all-transcending; delighted with his own boundless intelligence, not limited by space, or time; without feet, moving swiftly; without hands, grasping all worlds; without eyes, all-surveying; without ears, all-hearing; without an intelligent guide, understanding all; without cause, the first of all causes; all-ruling; all-powerful; the creator, preserver, transformer of all things; such is the Great One: this the Vedas declare.”

“What relish can there be for enjoyment in this body; assailed by desire and wrath, by avarice and illusion, fear and

sorrow, envy and hate, by absence from those whom we love, and by union with those whom we dislike, by hunger and thirst, by disease and emaciation, by growth and decline, by old age and death?"

"Surely we see the things of this world tending to decay, even as these biting gnats and other insects; even as the grass of the field, and the trees of the forest, which spring up and then perish. But what are they?—Others, far greater, have been archers mighty in battle, and some have been kings of the whole earth.

"Sudhumna, Bhuridhumna, Indradhumna, Cuvalayaswa, Yanvanaswa, Avadhyaswa, Aswapati, Sasabindu, Havisehandra, Barishsha, Nahusha, Suryati, Yayati, Vicitra, Acshayasena, Priyavrata, and the rest.

"Marutta likewise, and Bharata, who enjoyed all corporeal delights, yet left their boundless prosperity, and passed from this world to the next.

"But what are they?—Others yet greater, Gandawas, Asuras, Racshasas, companies

of spirits, Pisachas, Uragas, and Grahas, have, we have seen, been destroyed.

“ But what are they?—Others greater still have been changed; vast rivers dried; mountains torn up; the pole itself moved from its place; the cords of the stars rent asunder; the whole earth itself deluged with water: even angels hurled from their stations.”

“ May that soul of mine, which mounts aloft in my waking hours, as an ethereal spark, and which, even in my slumber, has a like ascent, soaring to a great distance, as an emanation from the light of lights, be united by devout meditation with the spirit supremely blest, and supremely intelligent!

“ May that soul of mine, by an agent similar to that with which the low-born perform their menial works, and the wise, deeply versed in sciences, duly solemnise their sacrificial rites; may that soul, which was itself the primæval oblation placed within all creatures, be united by devout

meditation with the spirit supremely blest, and supremely intelligent!

“ May that soul of mine, which is a ray of perfect wisdom, pure intellect and permanent existence, which is the unextinguishable light fixed within created bodies, without which no good act is performed, be united by devout meditation with the spirit supremely blest, and supremely intelligent!

“ May that soul of mine,—in which, as an immortal essence, may be comprised whatever has past, is present, or will be hereafter; by which the sacrifice, where seven ministers officiate, is properly solemnized;—be united by devout meditation with the spirit supremely blest, and supremely intelligent!

“ May that soul of mine, into which are inserted, like the spokes of a wheel in the axle of a car, the holy texts of the Rigveda, the Saman, and the Yajush; into which is interwoven all that belongs to created forms, be united by devout meditation with

the spirit supremely blest, and supremely intelligent!

“ May that soul which guides mankind, as a skilful charioteer guides his rapid horses with reins ;—that soul which is fixed in my breast, exempt from old age, swift in its course,—may it be united by divine meditation with the spirit supremely blest, and supremely intelligent !”

What is here said of the soul alludes to the belief of the Hindūs, that it is *an emanation of the divine essence* ; and future happiness, according to the Vedanta school, consists in being united with that essence, at the same time retaining a consciousness of existence.

In the translation of a fragment of a Sanscrit work entitled : *Instruction for the Ignorant*, it is said :

“ Restrain, O ignorant man, thy desire of wealth, and become a hater of it in body, understanding, and mind : let the riches thou possessest be acquired by thy own good actions ; with those gratify thy soul.

“ The boy so long delights in his play, the youth so long pursues his beloved, the old so long brood over melancholy thoughts, that no man meditates on the Supreme Being.

“ Who is thy wife, and who thy son? How great and wonderful is this world! who thou art, and whence thou comest? Meditate on this, my brother, and again on this.

“ Be not proud of wealth and attendants, and youth; since time destroys all of them in the twinkling of an eye: check thy attachment to all these illusions, like Maya; fix thy heart on the foot of Brahma, and thou wilt soon know him.

“ As a drop of water moves on the leaf of the Lotos; thus, or more slippery, is human life: the company of the virtuous endures here but for a moment; but that is the vehicle to bear thee over land and ocean.

“ To dwell in the mansion of gods at the foot of a tree; to have the ground for a

bed, and a hide for vesture; to renounce all ties of family or connexions;—who would not receive delight from this devout abhorrence of the world?*

“Set not thy affections on foe, or friend; on a son, or a relation; in war and in peace bear an equal mind towards all; if thou desirest it, thou wilt soon be like Vishnu.

“Day and night, evening and morn, winter and spring, depart and return! Time sports, age passes on, desire and the wind continue unrestrained.

“When the body is tottering, the head grey, and the mouth toothless; when the smooth stick trembles in the hand which it supports, yet the vessel of covetousness remains unemptied.

“So soon born, so soon dead! so long lying in thy mother’s womb! so great crimes

* Hence those devotees, who, renouncing the world, are to be found living under the shade of a tree, or in solitary caverns.

are committed in the world ! How then, O man, canst thou live here below with complacency ?*

“ Brahma, Indra, the sun, and Kudra—These are permanent, not thou, not I, not this or that people :—what, therefore, should occasion our sorrow ?

“ In thee, in me, in every other, Vishnu resides : in vain art thou angry with me, not bearing my approach :—this is perfectly true, all must be esteemed equal : be not, therefore, proud of a magnificent palace.

“ This is the instruction of learners, delivered in twelve measures :—what more can be done with those, whom this work doth fill with devotion ?

“ Thus ends the book, named *Mohad-*

* To this and similar passages may probably be ascribed the too frequent practice of devotees voluntarily destroying themselves ; some, in abstaining from food, others by throwing themselves under the wheels of those moveable towers, on which images at particular festivals are drawn in pompous procession.

mudgara, or the ‘ Ignorant Instructed,’ composed by the holy, devout, and prosperous Sancar Acharya.”

Abul Fazil says in the *Ayeen Akbery* :*

* Iellaleddin Akber, sixth in descent from Timur, was one of the greatest and wisest princes that ever sat on the Mohammedan Imperial throne of Hindūstan. His father Humaioon, by the rebellion of Shir Khan, having been obliged in 1541, to quit his capital, and take refuge with his family in Agimire, Akber was born at Amercot in 1542. From Amercot, Humaioon went into Persia, and by the assistance of the Persian monarch recovered his crown in 1554; but, dying in 1556, Akber was proclaimed sovereign at the age of fourteen years, and died at Agra in 1605, after a happy and glorious reign of forty-nine years. He greatly extended his empire; but though a conqueror, he seems to have been truly the father of all his subjects. Hindūs and Mohammedans were equally protected by him; to all, justice was speedily and impartially administered, and the people in general secured against extortion and violence. In the execution of his wise and virtuous intentions, he was powerfully assisted by his celebrated Vizir, Abul Fazil, who by order of the Emperor, composed the work named *Ayeen Akbery*, containing an account of the empire, and the various institutes of Akber. He had also written the history of this prince, in a work named *Akber-Namma*, down to the forty-se-

“ It has now come to light, that the generally received opinion of the Hindūs being polytheists, has no foundation in truth; for, although their tenets admit positions which are difficult to be defended, yet that they are worshippers of God, and only one God, are incontrovertible points.”

“ They unanimously believe in the unity of the Godhead; and although they hold images in high veneration, yet they are by no means idolaters, as the ignorant suppose. I have myself frequently discoursed upon the subject with many learned and upright men of this religion, and comprehend their

venth year of his reign, but was unfortunately murdered that year in his way back to court from the Deckan, whither he had been deputed by his master on some important affairs of government. Abul Fazil seems to have been not only a statesman, but a man of learning; and, when treating of the sciences and doctrines of the Hindūs, he frequently quotes Greek and Arabian authors. The *Ayeen Akbery* was translated into English by Mr. Francis Gladwin, and published at Calcutta in September, 1783, under the patronage of Mr. Hastings: an edition was printed at London, in 1800, in two vols. 8vo.

doctrine; which is, that the images are only representations of celestial beings,* to whom they turn themselves whilst at prayer, in order to prevent their thoughts from wandering; and they think it an indispensable duty to address the Deity after that manner."

After several other observations he adds: "Without compliment, there are to be found in this religion, men who have not their equal in any other for their godliness, and their abstinence from sensual gratifications."

He mentions different opinions, or sects, that have arisen among them; a thing unfortunately common to all religions: and when speaking of Brahma, Vishnu, Siva, or Mahadea, he says: "Some believe, that God, who hath no equal, appeared on earth under these three forms without having been thereby polluted, in the same manner as the Christians speak of the Mes-

* Instead of *celestial* we presume *imaginary* is meant; the whole turn of the passage implies this.

siah. Others hold that all the three were only human beings, who on account of their sanctity and righteousness, were raised to these high dignities."

Bernier, who was an attentive traveller, a faithful narrator, and, in general, a judicious observer, gives the following account of a conversation he had with some of the principal Pundits at Benares, upon the subject of the worship of idols by the Hindūs.

"Lorsque je descendis le long du Gange, et que je passai par Benares, j'allai trouver le chef des Pundets, qui fait là sa demeure ordinaire. C'est un religieux tellement renommé pour son savoir, que Chah Jehan, tant pour sa science que pour complaire aux Rajas, lui fit pension de deux mille roupies. C'étoit un gros homme, très-bien fait, et qu'on regardoit avec plaisir : pour tout vêtement il n'avoit qu'une espèce d'écharpe blanche de soie, qui étoit liée à l'entour de sa ceinture, et qui pendoit jusqu'à mi-jambe, avec une autre écharpe, rouge, de soie, assez large, qu'il avoit sur ses épaules

comme un petit manteau. Je l'avois vu plusieurs fois à Delhi dans cette posture, devant le Roi, dans l'assemblée de tous les Omrahs, et marcher par les rues tantôt à pied tantôt en Palcky.* Je l'avois aussi vu, et j'avois conversé plusieurs fois avec lui, parceque pendant un an il s'étoit toujours trouvé à notre conférence devant mon Agah, à qui il faisoit la cour, afin qu'il lui fît redonner sa pension, qu'Aurengzebe, parvenu à l'empire, lui avoit ôtée, pour paroître grand Musulman. Dans la visite que je lui rendis à Benares, il me fit cent caresses, et me donna même la collation dans la bibliothèque de son Université avec les six plus fameux Pundets de la ville. Quand je me vis en si bonne compagnie, je les priai tous de me dire leurs sentimens sur l'adoration de leurs idoles ; car je leur disois que je m'en allois des Indes extrêmement scandalisé de ce côté-là, et leur reprochois que c'étoit une chose contre toute

* Called by the English *Palankeen*.

sorte de raison, et tout-à-fait indigne de gens savans et philosophes comme eux.”

“ Nous avons véritablement, me dirent-ils, dans nos temples, quantité de statues diverses, comme celle de Brahma, Mahadeu, Genich, et Gavani,* qui sont des principaux et des plus parfaits *Deutas*, et même de quantité d'autres de moindre perfection, auxquelles nous rendons beaucoup d'honneurs ; nous nous prosternons devant elles, et leur présentons des fleurs, du riz, des huiles de senteur, du safran et autres choses semblables avec beaucoup de cérémonie : néanmoins, nous ne croyons point que ces statues soient ou Brahma même, ou Béchen † lui-même, et ainsi des autres, mais seulement leurs images et représentations, et nous ne leur rendons ces honneurs qu'à cause de ce qu'elles représentent ; elles sont dans nos *Deuras*, ‡ afin qu'il y ait quelque chose devant les yeux qui arrête

* Probably, Bavany.

† Vishen, or Vishnu.

‡ Dewuls, or temples.

l'esprit ; et quand nous prions, ce n'est pas la statue que nous prions, mais celui qui est représenté par la statue : au reste nous reconnoissons que c'est Dieu qui est le Maître absolu et le seul Tout-puissant."*

M. Ziegenbalg, one of the first missionaries sent by the king of Denmark to Tranquebar,† having asked different Brahmins,

* Voyages de Bernier, tom. ii. pp. 157—159.

† Tranquebar was granted to the Danes, by the Rajah of Tanjore, in 1621.—The king of Denmark having, in the year 1705, applied to M. Franck, professor of theology at Halle, to recommend persons fit to be sent as missionaries to India ; Franck proposed M. Ziegenbalg and M. Plutchau. They sailed from Copenhagen the 29th of November in that year, and arrived at Tranquebar the 9th of July, 1706. M. Plutchau, after a few years residence, returned to Europe and remained there. M. Ziegenbalg visited Europe in 1715 ; came from Denmark to England, embarked there the 4th of March, 1716, landed at Madras the 9th of August in the same year, and died at Tranquebar the 23d of February, 1719. He translated into the Malabar, or Tamoul language, the whole of the New Testament, and at his death had nearly completed a translation of the Old. He wrote a Malabar grammar, which was printed at

the reason of their not offering worship to the Supreme Being,—they uniformly replied; that God was a Being without shape, incomprehensible, of whom no precise idea could be formed; and that the adoration before idols, being ordained by their religion, God would receive, and consider that, as adoration offered to himself.

He gives some literal translations of passages from their writings:

“The Being of beings is the only God, eternal, and every where present, who *comprises every thing*; there is no God but *He*.”

“O Sovereign of all beings, Lord of the Heavens and the Earth, before whom shall I deplore my wretchedness, if thou abandon me?”*

“God is, as upon a sea without bounds;

Halle; and a dictionary, printed at Tranquebar in 1712, which then contained 20,000 words, and was afterwards augmented.—See *Hist. du Christ. des Indes par la Croze*.

* From a book named *Vara-baddu*.

those who wish to approach him must appease the agitation of the waves—they must be of a tranquil and steady mind, retired within themselves, and their thoughts being collected, must be fixed on God only.”*

In a letter written to M. Ziegenbalg, by a Brahmin, he says, “God may be known by his laws, and wonderful works,—by the reason and understanding he has given to man, and by the creation and preservation of all beings. It is indispensably the duty of man to believe in God, and love him. Our law enjoins this.—Those two principles ought to be in his speech, in his mind; they should guide all his actions, in which being well founded, he should invoke God, and endeavour in every thing to conform himself to his will.”

A Hindū having been converted to Christianity by the Danish missionaries, his father wrote to him, “You are yet unac-

* From a book named Tchiva-Vackkium.

quainted with the mysteries of our religion. We do not worship many gods in the extravagant manner you imagine. In all the multitude of images, we adore one Divine essence only. We have amongst us learned men, to whom you should apply, and who will remove all your doubts.”*

M. de la Croze, says, on the authority of M. Ziegenbalg and another missionary, M. J. E. Grundler: “In one of their books, they (the Hindūs) express themselves in the following manner: ‘The Supreme Being is invisible, incomprehensible, immovable, without figure or shape. No one has ever seen him; time never comprised him; his essence pervades every thing; all was derived from him.’”

Father Bouchet, superior of the Jesuit missionaries, writes to the bishop of Avranches,† from Madura, in the Carnatic:

* *Histoire du Christianisme des Indes*, tom. ii. liv. 6.

† The celebrated P. D. Huet, chosen by Bossuet to be preceptor, under him, to the dauphin, eldest son of Louis XIV. As a recompense for his ser-

“The Indians acknowledge one eternal God, infinitely perfect.”

“They say, that the great number of divinities which they worship, are only inferior deities, entirely subject to the will

vices, he obtained the Abbacy of Aunai, and afterwards the bishopric of Soissons, which he changed for that of Avranches. Having vacated this last see, he procured the Abbacy of Fontenay in Normandy, near Caen: thence he retired into what was called *la Maison Professée des Jésuites* at Paris, spending the day in literary pursuits, the evenings in society; and died in 1721, at the age of ninety-one years. All the learned missionaries in eastern countries, seem to have corresponded with him. There is a well executed account of Huet, in the *Memoirs of Mademoiselle de Montpensier*. He left numerous works both in French and Latin. Some of them have been criticised. He is said to have shewn more learning than taste and elegance in his compositions, which in the age of Louis XIV., was not a trifling charge. It was Huet who suggested the publication of the classics *ad usum Delphini*, but on a much more extensive plan than that on which they were executed.

See also Dr. Aikin's translation of Huet's *Commentarii de Rebus ad se pertinentibus*, published at London, 1810, in two vols. 8vo.

of the Supreme Being, who is equally Lord of Gods and men.”*

* *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, 12mo. edit. de Paris, 1781, tom. ii.

In a work published at the protestant mission press at Serampore in Bengal, in 1811, in four vols. 4to. and intituled, “ *Account of the Writings, Religion, and Manners of the Hindūs*, by W. Ward,” much minute information in regard to the festivals, forms of worship, customs and practices of the Hindūs, will be found; but it is apprehended that *forms* have too much influence with Mr. Ward, and sometimes lead him to conclusions, which, we believe, no impartial persons, who have inquired into and considered the subject, will admit. Inventions artfully employed to impose on the public in matters of religion, and to excite superstitious and groundless fears in the ignorant, are undoubtedly highly reprehensible, whenever, or by whomsoever they may be practised. Such we must consider many of the practices of the Brahmins of India; but as their orthodox doctrines teach the belief of one God, or Supreme Being only; and as it has been repeatedly declared by the learned Pundits, that their mythology and use of images were only invented, and are employed to represent the different attributes of the divinity, we can, after such solemn declarations, no longer join with Mr. Ward, in representing the whole body of Hindūs, as

“*gross and monstrous idolaters*,” than we can join with some too zealous protestants in applying the same epithets to the whole body of Roman Catholics, for having crucifixes, images, and pictures in their churches. The Church of England admits of pictures being placed over the altars, and the members of that church, as well as the Roman Catholics, we presume, will be ready to declare, that nothing more is intended by those outward signs, than to commemorate what may serve to excite devotion in the beholders.

CHAPTER VI.

THE PHILOSOPHICAL AND THEOLOGICAL
OPINIONS OF THE HINDŪS, CONTINUED.

IN the eleventh, and, unfortunately, last discourse of Sir William Jones, to the Asiatic Society, delivered the 20th of February, 1794, he says:—"The little treatise in four chapters, ascribed to Vyasa, is the only philosophical Sastra, the original text of which I have had leisure to peruse with a Brahmin of the Vedanti school: it is extremely obscure, and though composed in sentences elegantly modulated, has more resemblance to a table of contents, or an accurate summary, than to a regular systematical tract; but all its obscurity has been cleared by the labour of the very judicious and most learned Sancara, whose commentary on the Vedanta, which I read

also with great attention, not only elucidates every word of the text, but exhibits a perspicuous account of all other Indian schools, from that of Capila, to those of the more modern heretics. It is not possible, indeed, to speak with too much praise of so excellent a work; and I am confident in asserting, that, until an accurate translation of it shall appear in some European language, the general history of philosophy must remain incomplete; for I perfectly agree with those, who are of opinion, that one correct version of any celebrated Hindū book, would be of greater value than all the dissertations or essays that could be composed on the same subject. You will not, however, expect, that in such a discourse as I am now delivering, I should expatiate on the diversity of Indian philosophical schools, on the several founders of them, on the doctrines which they respectively taught, or on their many disciples, who dissented from their instructors in some particular points. On the present occasion, it will be sufficient to

say, that the oldest head of a sect, whose entire work is preserved, was, according to some authors, Capila; not the divine personage, a reputed grandson of Brahma, to whom Krishna compares himself in the Geeta; but a sage of his name, who invented the Saníhya, or numeral philosophy, which Krishna himself appears to impugn in his conversation with Arjuna; and which, as far as I can recollect it from a few original texts, resembled in part, the metaphysics of Pythagoras, and in part the theology of Zeno: his doctrines were enforced and illustrated, with some additions, by the venerable Patanjali, who has also left us a fine comment on the grammatical rules of Panini, which are more obscure, without a gloss, than the darkest oracle: and here by the way let me add, that I refer to metaphysics, the curious and important science of universal grammar, on which many subtle disquisitions may be found interspersed in the particular grammars of the ancient Hindūs.

“ The next founder, I believe, of a phi-

losophical school, was Gotama, if, indeed, he was not the most ancient of all ; for his wife Ahalya was, according to Indian legends, restored to a human shape by the great Rama; and a sage of his name, whom we have no reason to suppose a different personage, is frequently mentioned in the Veda itself; to *his* rational doctrines, those of Canada were in general conformable; and the philosophy of them both is usually called Nyaya, or logical, a title aptly bestowed; for it seems to be a system of metaphysics and logick, better accommodated than any other anciently known in India, to the natural reason and common sense of mankind; admitting the actual existence of material substance in the popular acceptation of the word *matter*, and comprising not only a body of sublime dialectics, but an artificial method of reasoning, with distinct names for the three parts of a proposition, and even for those of a regular syllogism. Here I cannot refrain from introducing a singular tradition, which prevailed, according to the well-

informed author of the *Dabistan*, in the Panjab and several Persian provinces, that, among other Indian curiosities, which Callisthenes transmitted to his uncle,* was a

* We presume that Sir William Jones, by *his uncle*, means Aristotle. Callisthenes was born about 365 years before the Christian æra, at Olynthus, in Thrace, a town originally founded by a Grecian colony from Eubæa. His mother, Hero, it appears, was a near relation of Aristotle, but whether a sister, or not, is uncertain. Aristotle sent for him to Athens, where he was educated under his immediate inspection. He carried him, with him, to the court of Macedon, when he went thither as preceptor to Alexander, and left him there. Callisthenes accompanied Alexander in his expedition into the east. Though endowed with talents, he seems to have been proud, intolerant, contradictory, and insolent, even sometimes towards his sovereign. He was accused of having entered into the conspiracy of Hermolaus against Alexander. The guilt of Hermolaus and some other conspirators being proved, they were stoned to death, at the city of Cariata, in Bactria. Callisthenes was afterwards tried and condemned. Some authors have alleged that he was innocent; others have insisted that he was guilty, and especially Arrian, who wrote from the authority of Aristobulus and Ptolemy Lagus, who were present at the time. But it is said that, instead of being put to death by the executioner, he was

technical system of logic, which the Brahmins had communicated to the inquisitive Greek, and which the Mohammedan writer supposes to have been the ground-work of the famous Aristotelian method: if this be true, it is one of the most interesting facts, that I have met with in Asia; and if it be false, it is very extraordinary that such a

confined in a cage placed on a carriage that followed the army, and that he thus miserably ended his life. Justin pretends, that he died by poison, which at his own request was secretly conveyed to him by Lysimachus. But what appears certain, is, that he was accused of treason and tried, and that his death, in whichever way it happened, was in consequence of his condemnation. But instead of referring the reader to the numerous ancient authors who have mentioned Callisthenes, we recommend to him the perusal of an article on his life and writings, by M. [l'Abbé Sevin, in *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, tom. viii. p. 126.

To learned readers, the above, and some other notes, may appear superfluous; but they are inserted with the view of saving the trouble of inquiry to those who may be less informed concerning the subjects mentioned, or who may not possess the opportunity of consulting the authorities referred to.

story should have been fabricated either by the candid Mohsani Fani, or by the simple Parsis Pandits, with whom he had conversed; but, not having had leisure to study the Nyaya Sastra, I can only assure you, that I have frequently seen perfect syllogisms in the philosophical writings of the Brahmins, and have often heard them used in their verbal controversies. Whatever might have been the merit or age of Gotama, yet the most celebrated Indian school is that, with which I began, founded by Vyasa, and supported in most respects by his pupil Jaimini, whose dissent on a few points is mentioned by his master with respectful moderation; their several systems are frequently distinguished by the names of the first and second Mimansa, a word, which, like Nyaya, denotes the operations and conclusions of reason; but the tract of Vyasa has in general the appellation of Vedanta, or the *scope and end of the Veda*, on the texts of which, as they were understood by the philosopher who collected them, his doctrines are principally grounded.

The fundamental tenet of the Vedanti school, to which in a more modern age the incomparable Sancara was a firm and illustrious adherent, consisted, not in denying the existence of matter, that is, of solidity, impenetrability, and extended figure, (to deny which would be lunacy,) but, in correcting the popular notion of it, and in contending, that it has no essence independent of mental perception, that existence and perceptibility are convertible terms, that external appearances and sensations are illusory, and would vanish into nothing, if the divine energy, which alone sustains them, were suspended but for a moment; an opinion, which Epicharmus* and Plato seem to have adopted, and which has been maintained in the present century with great elegance, but with little public applause; partly because it has been mis-

* A Pythagorean philosopher and poet, born in Sicily, under the reign of the first Hieron, and the first who there introduced regular dramatic works on the stage. Plato is supposed to have borrowed from his writings.

understood, and partly because it has been misapplied by the false reasoning of some unpopular writers, who are said to have disbelieved in the moral attributes of God, whose omnipresence, wisdom, and goodness, are the basis of the Indian philosophy. I have not sufficient evidence on the subject to profess a belief in the doctrine of the Vedanta, which human reason alone, could, perhaps, neither fully demonstrate, nor fully disprove; but it is manifest, that nothing can be farther removed from impiety than a system wholly built on the purest devotion; and the inexpressible difficulty, which any man, who shall make the attempt, will assuredly find, in giving a satisfactory definition of *material substance*, must induce us to deliberate with coolness, before we censure the learned and pious restorer of the ancient Veda; though we cannot but admit, that, if the common opinions of mankind be the criterion of philosophical truth, we must adhere to the system of Gotama, which the Brahmins of this province almost universally follow.

“ If the metaphysics of the Vedantis be wild and erroneous, the pupils of Buddha have run, it is asserted, into an error diametrically opposite; for they are charged with denying the existence of pure spirit, and with believing nothing absolutely and really to exist but material substance;—a heavy accusation, which ought only to have been made on positive and incontestable proof, especially by the orthodox Brahmins, who, as Buddha dissented from their ancestors in regard to bloody sacrifices, which the Veda certainly prescribes, may not unjustly be suspected of low and interested malignity. Though I cannot credit the charge, yet I am unable to prove it entirely false, having only read a few pages of a Saugata book; but it begins, like other Hind books, with the word *Om*, which we know to be a symbol of the divine attributes: then follows, indeed, a mysterious hymn to the goddess of Nature, by the name of Arya, but with several other titles, which the Brahmins themselves continually bestow on their Devi: now, the Brahmins,

who have no idea, that any such personage exists as Devi, or the *goddess*, and only mean to express allegorically the power of God, exerted in creating, preserving, and renovating this universe, we cannot with justice infer, that the dissenters admit no deity but *visible nature*: the Pandit who now attends me, and who told Mr. Wilkins, that the Saugatas were atheists, would not have attempted to resist the decisive evidence of the contrary, which appears in the very instrument on which he was consulted, if his understanding had not been blinded by the intolerant zeal of a mercenary priesthood.

“ The moralists of the east have in general chosen to deliver their precepts in short, sententious maxims, to illustrate them by sprightly comparisons, or to inculcate them in the very ancient form of agreeable apologies. Our divine religion has no need of such aids as many are willing to give it, by asserting, that the wisest men of this world were ignorant of the two great maxims, that *we must act in respect of others*,

as we should wish them to act in respect to ourselves, and that, instead of returning evil for evil, we should confer benefits even on those who injure us ; but the first rule is implied in a speech of Lysias,* and expressed in distinct phrases by Thales† and Pittacus ;‡ and I have even seen it, word for word, in the original of Confucius, which I carefully compared with the Latin translation.—If the conversion therefore of the Pandits, in this country, shall ever be attempted by Protestant missionaries, they must beware of asserting, while they teach the gospel of truth, what those Pandits would know to be false, and who would cite the beautiful Arya couplet, which was written at least

* A native of Syracuse. He was a famous orator and teacher of eloquence at Athens, and flourished in the time of Socrates.

† Of Miletus; he appeared about 640 years before Christ, and should properly be considered as the chief of the Ionian school, though that honour has been given to his disciple Anaximander.

‡ Born at Mitylene, on the island of Lesbos, about 650 years before the Christian æra.

three centuries before our æra, and which pronounces the duty of a good man, even in the moment of his destruction, to consist not only in forgiving, but even in a desire of benefiting his destroyer, *as the Sandal-tree, in the instant of its overthrow, sheds perfume on the axe, which fells it.*"*

The same learned writer, in an advertisement to a translation of the Hitopadesa, says;—"The Indians in moral wisdom were certainly eminent: the *Niti Sastra*, or system of ethics, is yet preserved; and the fables of Vishnuserman, whom we ridiculously call *Pilpay*,† are the most beauti-

* See Asiatic Res. Svo. edit. vol. iv. p. 177, and the Works of Sir William Jones, Svo. edit. vol. iii. pp. 242, 243.

† Sir William Jones supposes the mistake to have arisen from a misconception of the Sanscrit word, *bedpai*, "which some ignorant copyist has mistaken for *pilpay*. In Persian, the word *bedpai* means *willow-footed*, which would be nonsense, and *pilpay*, *elephant-footed*, which is not much better; but Cahafi says, that in Sanscrit, the word signifies *beloved*, the beloved, or favourite physician."

ful, if not the most ancient collection of apologues in the world: they were first translated from the Sanscrit, in the sixth century, by the order of Bazerchumih, or *bright as the sun*, the chief physician, and afterwards Vizir of the great Anushirevan, and are extant under various names in more than twenty languages: but their original title is *Hitopadesa*, or *concrete instruction*: and, as the very existence of Esop, whom the Arabs believe to have been an Abyssinian, appears rather doubtful, I am not disinclined to suppose, that the first *moral fables*, which appeared in Europe, were of Indian, or Ethiopian origin.*

He continues:—"I have already had occasion to touch on the Indian metaphysics of natural bodies, according to the most celebrated of the Asiatic schools, from which the Pythagoreans are supposed to have borrowed many of their opinions: and, as we learn from Cicero, that the old sages of Europe had an idea of *centrifugal*

* Works of Sir William Jones, vol. xiii. p. 2.

force, and a principle of *universal gravitation* (which they never indeed attempted to demonstrate); so I can venture to affirm, without meaning to pluck a leaf from the never-fading laurels of our immortal Newton, that the whole of his theology, and part of his philosophy, may be found in the Vedas, and even in the works of the Sufis; that most subtil spirit, which he suspected to pervade natural bodies, and, lying concealed in them, to cause attraction and repulsion; the emission, reflection, and refraction of light; electricity, calefaction, sensation, and muscular motion; is described by the Hindūs as a fifth element, endued with those very powers, and the Vedas abound with allusions to a force universally attractive, which they chiefly ascribe to the sun, thence called Aditya, or *the attractor*, a name designed by the mythologists to represent the child of the goddess Aditi; but the most wonderful passage on the theory of attraction occurs in the charming allegorical poem of Shirin and Ferhad, or *the divine spirit*, and *a human soul disin-*

terestedly pious ; a work which from the first verse to the last, is a blaze of religious and poetical fire. The whole passage appears to me so curious, that I make no apology for giving you a faithful translation of it:—‘ There is a strong propensity, which dances through every atom, and attracts the minutest particle to some peculiar object ; search this universe from its base to its summit, from fire to air, from water to earth, from all below the moon, to all above the celestial spheres, and thou wilt not find a corpuscle destitute of that natural attractibility ; the very point of the first thread, in this apparently tangled skein, is no other than such a principle of attraction, and all principles beside are void of a real basis ; from such a propensity arises every motion perceived in heavenly, or in terrestrial bodies ; it is a disposition to be attracted, which taught hard steel to rush from its place and rivet itself on the magnet ; it is the same disposition, which impels the light straw to attach itself firmly on amber ; it is this quality, which gives every sub-

stance in nature a tendency toward another, and an inclination forcibly directed to a determined point.' These notions are vague, indeed, and unsatisfactory ; but permit me to ask, whether the last paragraph of Newton's incomparable work goes much farther, and whether any subsequent experiments have thrown light on a subject so abstruse and obscure."

In an article entitled, *On the Literature of the Hindūs*, translated from the Sanscrit by Sir William Jones, to whom it was communicated by Goverdhan Caul,* it is said : " There are eighteen Vidyas, or parts of true knowledge, and some branches of knowledge falsely so called ; of both which a short account shall here be exhibited.

" The first four are the immortal Vedas, evidently revealed by God ; which are entitled, in one compound word, Rigya-juhsamat'harva, or, in separate words, Rich, Yajush, Saman, and At'harvan : the Rigveda consists of five sections ; the Yajur-

* See Works of Sir Wm. Jones, 8vo. vol. iv. p. 93.

veda, of eighty-six; the Samaveda, of a thousand; and the Atharvaveda, of nine; with eleven hundred s'ac'ha's, or branches, in various divisions and subdivisions. The Vedas in truth are infinite; but were reduced by Vyasa, to this number and order: the principal part of them is that, which explains the duties of man in a methodical arrangement; and in the fourth, is a system of divine ordinances.

“ From these are deduced the four Upavedas, namely, Ayush, Gandharva, Dhanush, and Sthapatya; the first of which, or Ayurveda, was delivered to mankind by Brahma, Indra, Dhanwantari, and five other deities; and comprises the theory of disorders and medicines, with the practical methods of curing diseases. The second, or music, was invented and explained by Bharata: it is chiefly useful in raising the mind by devotion, to the felicity of the divine nature. The third Upaveda, was composed by Viswamitra, on the fabrication and use of arms and implements

handled in war, by the tribe of Cshatriyas.* Viswacarman revealed the fourth, in various treatises on sixty-four mechanical arts, for the improvement of such as exercise them.

“ Six Angas, or bodies of learning, are also derived from the same source : their names are, Sicsha, Calpa, Vyacarana, Ch’handas, Jyotish, and Niructi. The first was written by Panini, an inspired saint, on the pronunciation of vocal sounds ; the second, contains a detail of religious acts and ceremonies from the first to the last ; and from the branches of these works a variety of rules have been framed by Aswalayana, and others : the third, or the grammar, entitled Paniniya, consisting of eight lectures, or chapters, was the production of three Rishis, or holy-men, and teaches the proper discriminations of words in construction ; but other less abstruse grammars, compiled merely for popular use, are not consi-

* Military cast.

dered as Angas: the fourth, or Prosody, was taught by a Muni, named Pingala, and treats of charms and incantations in verses aptly framed and variously measured; such as the Gayatri, and a thousand others. Astronomy is the fifth of the Vedangas, as it was delivered by Surya, and other divine persons: it is necessary in calculations of time. The sixth, or Niructi, was composed by Yasca,* on the signification of difficult words and phrases in the Vedas.

“ Lastly, there are four Upangas, called Purana, Nyaya, Mimansa, and Dherma sastra. Eighteen Puranas, that of Brahma, and the rest, were composed by Vyasa for the instruction and entertainment of mankind in general. Nyaya is derived from the root *ni*, to acquire, or apprehend; and, in this sense, the books on apprehension, reasoning, and judgment, are called Nyaya: the principal of these are the work of Gautama, in five chapters, and that of Ca-

* “ So is the manuscript; but perhaps it should be Vyasa.”

nada, in ten; both teaching the meaning of sacred texts, the difference between just and unjust, right and wrong, and the principles of knowledge, all arranged under twenty-three heads. Mimansa is also twofold; both shewing what acts are pure or impure, what objects are to be desired or avoided, and by what means the soul may ascend to the *First Principle*: the former, or Carma Mimansa, comprised in twelve chapters, was written by Jaimini, and discusses questions of moral duties and law; next follows the Upasana Canda in four lectures, containing a survey of religious duties; to which part belong the rules of Sandilya, and others, on devotion and duty to God. Such are the contents of the Purva, or former Mimansa. The Uttara, or latter, abounding in questions on the Divine Nature and other sublime speculations, was composed by Vyasa, in four chapters and sixteen sections: it may be considered as the brain and spring of all the Angas; it exposes the heretical opinions of Ramanuja, Madhwa, Vallabha, and other so-

phists; and, in a manner suited to the comprehension of adepts, it treats on the true nature of Ganesa, Bhascara, or the sun, Nilacanta, Lacshmi, and other forms of One Divine Being. A similar work was written by Sri Sancara, demonstrating the supreme power, goodness, and eternity of God.

“ The body of law, called Smriti, consists of eighteen books, each divided under three general heads, the duties of religion, the administration of justice, and the punishment, or expiation of crimes; they were delivered, for the instruction of the human species, by Menu and other sacred personages.

“ As to ethics, the Vedas contain all that relates to the duties of kings; the Puranas, what belongs to the relation of husband and wife; and the duties of friendship and society are taught succinctly in both: this double division of Angas and Upangas may be considered as denoting the double benefit arising from them in theory and practice.

“ The Bharata and Ramayana, which are both epick poems, comprise the most valuable part of ancient history.

“ For the information of the lower classes in religious knowledge, the Pasupata, the Pancharatra, and other works, fit for nightly meditation, were composed by Siva, and others, in an hundred and ninety-two parts on different subjects.

“ What follow are not really divine. Sanchya is two-fold, that with Iswara, and that without Iswara: the former is entitled Patanjala, in one chapter of four sections, and is useful in removing doubts by pious contemplation; the second, or Capila, is in six chapters on the production of all things by the union of Pracriti, or Nature, and Purusha, or the first male: it comprises also, in eight parts, rules for devotion, thoughts on the invisible power, and other topics. Both these works contain a studied and accurate enumeration of natural bodies and their principles; whence this philosophy is named Sanchya. Others

hold, that it was so called from its reckoning three sorts of pain.

“ The Mimansa is in two parts, the Nyaya in two, and the Sanchya in two; and these six schools comprehend all the doctrine of the Theists.

“ Last of all appears a work written by Buddha; and there are also six Atheistical systems of philosophy, entitled Yogachara, Saudhanta, Vaibhashica, Madhyamica, Digambara, and Charvac; all full of indeterminate phrases, errors in sense, confusion between distinct qualities, incomprehensible notions, opinions not duly weighed, tenets destructive of natural equality, containing a mixture of atheism and ethics, distributed into a number of sections, which omit what ought to be expressed, and express what ought to be omitted; abounding in false propositions, idle propositions, impertinent propositions: some assert, that the heterodox schools have no Upangas; others, that they have six Angas, and as many Sangas, or bodies, and other appendices.

“ Such is the analysis of *universal knowledge*, practical and speculative.”

In a short commentary, by Sir William Jones, on the above list of Goverdan Caul, it is said: “ The books on divine knowledge, called Veda, or what is *known*, and Sruti, or what has been *heard*, are still supposed to be very numerous; and the four here mentioned are thought to have been selected, as containing all the information necessary for man. Mohsani Fani, the very candid and ingenious author of the Dabistan, describes in his first chapter a race of old Persian sages, who appear from the whole of his account to have been Hindūs; and we cannot doubt, that the book of Mahabad, or Menu, which was written, he says, *in a celestial dialect*, means the Veda; so that, as Zeratusht* was only a reformer, we find in India the true source of the ancient Persian religion. To this head belong the numerous Tantra, Mantra,

* Zoroaster.

Agama, and Nigama, Sastras, which consist of incantations and other texts of the Vedas, with remarks on the occasions on which they may be successfully applied. It must not be omitted, that the commentaries on the Hindū Scriptures, among which that of Vasishta seems to be reputed the most excellent, are innumerable."

"From the Vedas are immediately deduced the practical arts of Chirurgery and Medicine, Music and Dancing, Archery, which comprises the whole art of war, and Architecture, under which the system of mechanical arts is included."

"Infinite advantage may be derived by Europeans from the various medical books in Sanscrit, which contain the names and descriptions of Indian plants and minerals, with their uses, discovered by experience, in curing disorders: there is a vast collection of them from the Cheraca, which is considered as a work of Siva; the Roganirupana and the Nidana are comparatively modern."

“A number of books, in prose and verse, have been written on music, with specimens of Hindū airs in a very elegant notation; but the *Silpa Sastra*, or *body of treatises on mechanical arts*, is believed to be lost.”

“The grammatical work of Panini, a writer supposed to have been inspired, is entitled *Siddhanta Caumudi*, and is so abstruse, as to require the lucubrations of many years, before it can be perfectly understood. When Casinatha Serman, who attended Mr. Wilkins, was asked what he thought of the Paniniya, he answered very expressively, that *it was a forest*; but, since grammar is only an instrument, not the end, of true knowledge, there can be little occasion to travel over so rough and gloomy a path; which contains, however, probably some acute speculations in metaphysics.”

“The Sanscrit prosody is easy and beautiful; the learned will find in it almost all the measures of the Greeks; and it is remarkable, that the language of the Brah-

mins runs very naturally into sapphics, alcaics, and iambics.

“Astronomical works in this language are exceedingly numerous: seventy-nine of them are specified in one list; and, if they contain the names of the principal stars visible in India, with observations on their positions in different ages, what discoveries may be made in science, and what certainty attained in ancient chronology?”

“The first Indian poet,” we are acquainted with, “was Valmici, author of the Ramayana,* a complete epic poem on one continued, interesting, and heroic action; and the next in celebrity, if it be not superior in reputation for holiness, was the Mahabharata of Vyasa: to him are ascribed the sacred Puranas, which are called, for their excellence, *the Eighteen*, and which have the following titles: Brahme, or the *Great One*; Pedma, or the *Lotos*; Brahmanda, or the *Mundane Egg*; and

* More frequently called the Ramayuna.

Agni, or *Fire*; (these four relate to the Creation): Vishnu, or the *Pervader*; Garuda, or his *Eagle*, the transformations of Brahma, Siva, Linga, Nareda, son of Brahma, Scanda, son of Siva, Marcan-deya, or the Immortal Man, and Bha-wishya, or the *Prediction of Futurity*, and four others, Matsya, Varaha, Curma, Vamena, or as many incarnations of the Great One in his character of *Preserver*; all containing ancient traditions embellished by poetry, or disguised by fable: the eighteenth is the Bhagawata, or Life of Krishna, with which the same poet is by some imagined to have crowned the whole series; though others, with more reason, assign them different composers.”

“ The system of Hindū law, besides the fine work, called Menusmriti, or *what is remembered from Menu*, that of Yajnya-walcyā, and those of sixteen other Muni’s, with commentaries on them all, consists of many tracts in high estimation: among those current in Bengal, are, an excellent treatise on *Inheritances*, by Jimuta

Vahana, and a complete digest, in twenty-seven volumes, compiled a few centuries ago, by Raghunandan, the Tribonian of India, whose work is the grand repository of all that can be known on a subject so curious in itself, and so interesting to the British government.

“Of the philosophical schools it will be sufficient here to remark, that the first Nyaya seems analogous to the Peripatetic; the second, sometimes called Vaisesica, to the Ionic; the two Mimansas, of which the second is often distinguished by the name of Vedanta, to the Platonic; the first Sanchya to the Italic; and the second, or Patanjala, to the Stoic, philosophy: so that Gautama corresponds with Aristotle; Kanada, with Thales; Jaimini, with Socrates; Vyasa, with Plato; Capila, with Pythagoras; Patanjali, with Zeno; but an accurate comparison between the Grecian and Indian schools would require a considerable volume. The original works of those philosophers are very succinct; but, like all the other Sastras, they are explained, or obscured, by the Upa-

dersana, or commentaries, without end : one of the finest compositions on the philosophy of the Vedanta is entitled *Yoga Vasishtha*, and contains the instructions of the great *Vasishtha* to his pupil, *Rama*, king of *Ayodhya*."

" The *Sudras*, or fourth class of *Hindūs*, are not permitted to study the six proper *Sastras* before enumerated ; but an ample field remains for them in the study of profane literature, comprised in a multitude of popular books, which correspond with the several *Sastras*, and abound with beauties of every kind. All the tracts on medicine, must, indeed, be studied by the *Vaidyas*, or those who are born physicians ;* and they have often more learning, with far less pride, than any of the *Brahmins* : they are usually poets, grammarians, rhetoricians, moralists ; and may be esteemed in general the most virtuous and amiable of

* As every profession and trade in India, belongs to, or is in the possession of distinct classes, the expression, *who are born physicians*, means, merely, to say, who are of the class that exclusively professes the study and practice of physic.

the Hindūs. Instead of the Vedas they study the Rajaniti, or *Instruction of Princes*, and instead of law, the Nitisastra, or general system of ethics: their Sahitia, or Cavya Sastra, consists of innumerable poems, written chiefly by the medical tribe, and supplying the place of the Puranas, since they contain all the stories of the Ramayana, Bharata, and Bhagawata: they have access to many treatises of Alan-cara, or Rhetorick, with a variety of works in modulated prose; to Upachyana, or Civil History, called also Rajatarangini; to the Nataca, which answers to the Gandharvaveda, consisting of regular dramatic pieces, in Sanscrit and Pracrit; besides which they commonly get by heart some entire dictionary and grammar.

“The best lexicon, or vocabulary, was composed in verse, for the assistance of the memory, by the illustrious Amarasinha: but there are seventeen others in great repute: the best grammar is the Mugdhabodha, or the *beauty of knowledge*, written by Goswami, named Vopadeva, and com-

prehending, in two hundred short pages, all that a learner of the language can have occasion to know. To the Coshas, or dictionaries, are usually annexed very ample Ticas, or etymological commentaries."

"Wherever we direct our attention to Hindū literature, the notion of *infinity* presents itself; and the longest life would not be sufficient for the perusal of near five hundred thousand stanzas in the Puranas, with a million more, perhaps, in the other works before mentioned: we may, however, select the best from each Sastra, and gather the fruits of science, without loading ourselves with the leaves and branches; while we have the pleasure to find, that the learned Hindūs, encouraged by the mildness of our government and manners, are at least as eager to communicate their knowledge of all kinds, as we can be to receive it. Since Europeans are indebted to the Dutch for almost all they know of Arabic, and to the French for all they know of Chinese, let them now receive from our nation the first accurate know-

ledge of Sanscrit, and of the valuable works composed in it; but, if they wish to form a correct idea of Indian religion and literature, let them begin with forgetting all that has been written on the subject, by ancients or moderns, before the publication of the Gita.”*

In an appendix to an allegorical drama translated from the Sanscrit by Dr. J. Taylor,† he particularly distinguishes the two systems or schools of Hindū philosophy, known by the names of Vedanta and Nyaya. The latter, he observes, as Sir William Jones had previously remarked, bears a strong analogy with the doctrines of Aristotle, both with regard to his philosophic opinions and his principles of logic; and in the preceding quotations from Sir William Jones, the reader will have observed, that a tradition prevails in the East, of the

* By Mr. (now Dr.) Charles Wilkins.

† Intituled Prabodh Chandro Daya, or the *Moon of Intellect*; which I venture to recommend to the attention of the reader, together with the learned translator's introduction and appendix to it.

Brahmins having communicated a technical system of logic to Callisthenes, which was transmitted by him to Aristotle, *and which the Mohammedan author of the Dabistan supposes to have been the ground-work of the famous Aristotelian method.** Both the Vedanta and Nyaya philosophers as far as our knowledge extends, seem to make the great scope of sound philosophy to consist in the practice of virtue; in being guided in our actions by the dictates of reason, of that faculty which enables us to distinguish truth from falsehood, and what may be proper or unfit in our desires and affections: without entering into all the different expositions and divisions of the same subject, by Plato, Aristotle, Zeno, and other ancient sages, such, in reality, is the result of their arguments on moral philosophy. Like Aristotle, the Nyaya philosophers make the operation of reason in regard to action, to consist in observing a just medium between extremes; thus,

* See p. 221.

fortitude consists in the medium between cowardice and presumptuous rashness; a becoming and useful economy, in the medium between avarice and profusion; and all agree in inculcating sobriety, and extreme temperance in the gratification of sensual appetites, as indispensable for the practice of virtue and attainment of happiness.

The Vedanta and Nyaya philosophers, like those of Greece above mentioned, acknowledge a supreme eternal Being, and the immortality of the soul; though, like the Greeks they differ in their ideas of those subjects. The Indian philosophers speak of the Supreme Being as an eternal essence that pervades space, and gives life or existence. What we understand by nature, in their mythology is personified, and frequently and beautifully introduced into their poetry under the name of Maia, and Prakrali.* Action in Maia, is supposed to

* We conceive the two names to be nearly synonymous.

be produced by the effect of the supreme pervading essence. It is said, figuratively, that the Supreme Being commanded Maia by a nod, who then spread out the universe.* But after this simple exposition given by the Vedanti of their notions of the Supreme Being, as a universal and eternal pervading spirit, in their books they suppose four modifications of it: 1. Brimh; 2. Kutasth; 3. Jiv; 4. Eesh; and they are compared to four modes of existence of ether: 1, as it appears clear and limpid in the vault of heaven; 2, as it is confined in a vessel or any given space; 3, as the sky is reflected in water; 4, as it is obscured by clouds. But as these different states or modifications do not change its nature, and as it would be erroneous to ascribe to each of them a distinct essence, so it is equally erroneous, say they, to imagine that the various modifications by which the all-pervading Being exists, or displays its power, are individual existences.

* See the drama and appendix above referred to.

Creation is not considered as the instant production of things, but only as the manifestation of that which exists eternally in the one universal Being.* And in another place: "They who are ignorant of the undivided Being, Brimh, the principle, the impassible one, dispute concerning Jiv and Eesh, the soul and divine spirit; but when this delusion is dispersed, all these distinctions vanish, and there exists only one quiescent spirit."†

The Vedantas consider the occupations of life, or, according to Dr. Taylor, of *action*, as retaining the soul "in the prison of passion and affection;" but whilst a person continues to perform the common acts of life, it is incumbent on him, say they, to attend to religious duties and rites. It also has been found expedient to modify the doctrine in such a manner, as to reconcile it with the occupations and acts on which the existence of society depends:

* Appendix to the Prabodh Chandro Daya.

† Ibid.

and they accordingly observe, that renunciation of the world does not require that a person should cease from the acts and duties of life, but only that he preserve his mind in a state of perfect indifference and tranquillity.*

The Nyaya schools, with all their various derivatives, admit the authority of the Vedas, or sacred writings: but the Vedanti strictly adhere to them, and announce their doctrines in an authoritative style, as things not to be reasoned on, but believed.† The Nyaya philosophy on the contrary abounds with abstruse metaphysical reasoning. “ It contains two sects, which were founded by two celebrated teachers, Gautam and Kanad. The sect of Gautam is the most ancient, and those who adhere to it are by way of eminence named Nyayaicks, and their philosophy, Nyayai; the followers of Kanad are frequently named

* Appendix, above quoted.

† It may be superfluous to observe that the name Vedanta is derived from Ved.

Veisheshiks, and their system Tarkeek. Gautam is a distinguished character, not only in India proper, but also in the countries to the eastward of the Ganges;* where he has been raised to the rank of a divinity, and is worshipped under a variety of names, which, however, are all easily traced to the primitive word. There is little distinction, if, indeed, any, between the systems of Gautam and Kanad, except in the number of orders into which they have divided the different classes of being. It is not requisite to name those classes, to enumerate the accidents and logical divisions of the system, or to notice the arrangement of syllogisms, which, perhaps, is not less perfect than that of the Greek logician.

“ The Nyayaicks (under which term I include the followers both of Gautam and Kanad) believe that spirit and matter are eternal; the former, enjoying life and

* That is, in India *intra Gangem*, or the countries between the Indus and the Ganges, and India *extra Gangem*, or the countries beyond the Ganges.

thought, the other inert and lifeless, and moving only as it is impelled by spirit. They do not, however, suppose that the world in its present form has existed from eternity, but only the primary matter from which it sprang when operated on by the almighty hand of God. Hence in its atomical condition, it is eternal; in the second, or figured state, perishable.”

“ The combinations, or aggregations, which compose the material universe, are produced by the energy of an Almighty and intelligent cause, who is considered the Supreme Being. Matter is incapable of action, whence it is evident that the motions of material objects are caused by a being different from those objects. Thus the author of the *Múktawalli* in delivering the opinions of the Nyayaicks, says: *Though we have in ourselves the consciousness that I am, I feel pleasure, &c., yet we have no evident knowledge that spirit and matter are different; but this is proved by the following argument:—An instrument requires an operator; thus, without an operator no effect could*

*result from cutting instruments, as an axe ; in like manner, without an operator, no effect would result from the eyes, which are the instruments of vision, hence we infer the existence of an operative Being.'**

Though the Nyayaicks believe that the soul is an emanation from the Supreme Being, they distinguish it in its individual existence from that Being ; and observe that in its confined state, and united with matter, it is subject to error, and liable to become the slave of passion, and to effects produced by things not originally in the mind, but external. That the Supreme Spirit, or Being, is eternally blessed and perfect.

Truth and intelligence are the eternal attributes of God, not of the individual soul, which is susceptible both of knowledge and ignorance, of pleasure and pain : therefore, God and the individual soul are distinct ; if you deny this, how can you account for the soul being confined to material habitations, and again released from them ?

“ While embodied in matter, the soul is in a state of imprisonment, and is under the influence of evil passions ; but, having by intense study arrived at the knowledge of the natural elements and principles, it attains the place of the Eternal. In this state of supreme bliss, however, its individuality does not cease ; but on this point they express themselves very obscurely. They admit that the soul is united to the Supreme Being, but conceive that it still retains the abstract nature of definite or visible existence.”* But it seems necessary to know exactly whether the word *united* be synonymous with, or understood to mean *absorbed*, which we also find sometimes employed in treating of the same subject. We are disposed to think that the English word “ absorbed ” is erroneously used, and that the word “ united ” is only meant in a general sense, as being united with one’s family or friends.

On the author asking learned Hindūs,

* Appendix, above quoted.

how, in admitting the souls of mankind to be emanations of the Supreme Being, they accounted for the inertness of infancy, for the mental qualities only unfolding themselves and acquiring force progressively with the growth of the body? How they accounted also for the difference that appears in those qualities in individuals? How they explained the numerous examples to be given, of persons possessing the greatest powers of thought, the most extensive knowledge, the most capacious and retentive memories, being at once deprived of all these by sudden fear, or by some bodily accident? How they accounted for the decline of memory and judgment by age? They severally made no satisfactory answer. To such questions, indeed, no satisfactory answer can ever be made: it has pleased the Creator to set bounds to the scope of human reason, beyond which it cannot reach. We may have a consciousness of things, without being able to explain the causes that produce them.

“ The dissolution of the world consists in the destruction of the visible forms and qualities of things, but their material essence remains, and from it new worlds are formed by the creative energy of God ; and thus the universe is dissolved and renewed in endless succession.”*

“ I think we may infer that the philosophy of the followers of the Vedanta school, is founded on the contemplation of one infinite Being, existing under two states, or modifications. The first, that of a pure, simple, abstract essence, immovable and quiescent ; the second, that of being displaying motion or active qualities. Under the first modification he is named Brimh, or *the Great Being*, and Kútasth, or *He who sitteth on high* ; under the second he is named Eesh, *the Lord*, and Jiv, *the soul* ; or to adapt this explanation to the division already given of these modifications, and to the example by which they were illustrated, we should say that Brimh, is Being

* Appendix, above quoted.

in its state of simple essence ; Eesh, is Being exerting energy, and causing the phenomena of the material universe ; Kútasth, is Being existing in sensitive creatures in its pure, simple state ; and Jiv, is Being in a sentient active state. But, perhaps, it would be more agreeable to the etymology of the words, to call Eesh the principle of energy or power, and Jiv the principle of sensation. Every thing rests on Brimh or Being ; but to him is more immediately referred Eesh, or power ; and to Kútasth is referred Jiv, or sensation. In common books and language these terms denote separate individual beings ; and also in some philosophical systems, Brimh, or Being, and Jiv, that which feels, are considered distinct and different beings ; but the Vedantas deny a plurality of beings, and assert that the visible phenomena and sensation, are only accidents of one Infinite Being, though, in order to be understood, they speak of them as distinct existences ; hence then it appears that the Vedanta philosophy is distinguished from all the

other systems, by teaching that *the universe consists of one undivided indivisible Being, and motion*.* Motion includes energy and sensation ; energy includes the material world ; and sensation includes the moral faculties, and corporeal feelings, as pleasure and pain. This explanation of the distinctions which are constantly recurring in the Vedanta books, and on which the system is grounded, receives no inconsiderable degree of support from the following passage in the Panchdashi : *Eshwar, or the Lord, is the principle of happiness ; Jiv, or the vital soul, is the principle of consciousness ; this distinction is caused by Maia, and these two modes of spirit comprehend the universe. The creation from the beginning to the consummation of all things, proceeds from Eesh, or the Lord ; life, from the time of awaking until it cease in the Infinite Being, proceeds from Jiv, or the soul.*"

" The reason assigned for attending to

* In the work quoted, as translated by Dr. Taylor, it is said, *Kutasth and Brimh are different only in name.*

these distinctions, also corroborates the explanation we have offered. It is not to point out different substances, or beings, but to conduct the mind to the knowledge of that one and all-pervading essence, in which the modifications exist, from which result the distinctions we observe. Unless the nature of these distinctions were understood, the soul must remain ignorant of its own nature, and continue for ever under the delusion that it is a sensitive, finite, individual being; but when by investigating these distinctions, it comprehends the modifications from which they arise, the delusion is dispelled, and it knows itself to be one, *infinite and eternal*.”*

It is, however, indubitable, that some of the Hindū philosophers consider the *vital soul*, as separate and distinct from what they understand by the great universal soul. By this they account for the memory, and apparent intelligence possessed in different degrees by the brute creation, while others account for these by their

* Appendix to the Prabodh Chandro Daya.

system of metempsychosis, or transmigration of souls.

“According to Hindū metaphysics, whatever is the subject of active and moral qualities must have magnitude, for these qualities imply action and change; but what is absolutely without magnitude and figure must be impassible and unchangeable; hence, as the Nyayaicks maintain that the Supreme Being is the immediate agent in the creation of the world, and that perception, desire, and action, are in him permanent qualities, they ascribe to him a principle of invisible magnitude.”

“A sect named Sankhya, was founded by a philosopher named Kapila.* It has been noticed by some English writers as advancing the doctrine of materialism; but the Sankhyas believe in the existence of two eternal substances, or beings, the one named Púrúsh, or male, the other Prakrali, or nature. They conceive that Púrúsh, or the male, exists in an eternal state of rest, impassible, and a mere spectator of

* Or Capila.

the motions of the universe. This state of the Supreme Being they illustrate, by saying that he resembles the water-lily, which after the water passes over it, is left in its original condition. The motions of the material world, and also sentient beings, proceed from Prakrali, or nature. The argument by which this opinion is supported is not very clear, or, perhaps, I may not have been able to comprehend it.”*

The Mimangsa doctrines were originally taught “by Jaimini. Kumaril Bhat and Prabhakar, who are mentioned in the play,† were two of his most eminent disciples. There are two divisions of this sect; one named Purva, or former, the other named Uttar, or latter Mimangsa. The Púrva Mimangsa say, that motion is the only being, and that it has existed from eternity, and will exist for ever, producing and maintaining all the phenomena which compose the universe. There is neither

* Appendix to the Prabodh Chandro Daya.

† Ibid.

creation nor dissolution, the world has existed always in the same visible form which it now exhibits. Jaimini seemed to deny the existence of Paramatma, or the supreme soul, and to admit only that of Jiv Atma, or vital soul; for which reason he was charged with atheism; and in the play we find one of his pupils asking if there be any other being besides those visible beings whom we behold. This tenet, however, was rejected by others of the sect, and accordingly, Kumaril, in reply to the above question, says, that there is a being distinct from the universe, who is the judge of actions, and the dispenser of rewards and punishments."

In the Ayeen Akbery, we are informed, that Buddha,* was son of a Rajah of the province of Magadha, now called Bahar; that his mother was named Maia, that he was born 2962 years before the period at which the author wrote, which was in the

* Buddha is one of the names of the Hindū deity that corresponds with the god Mercury.

40th year of the reign of Akber; consequently he must have been born 3179 years ago, or 1364 years before the Christian æra.*

The result of our inquiries shews, that though Buddha denied the Vedas to be of divine origin, and rejected some of the doctrines contained in them, he adhered to others; amongst these, he professed a belief in a future state of rewards and punishments, and in the transmigration of souls. He also preserved a considerable part of the Brahminical mythology. He seems to have wished to reform religion, as then practised, not to subvert it. The followers of Buddha dissent from the Brahminical doctrines in two points, namely, in rejecting the history of the creation and destruction of this world; in believing it to be eternal, and in not admitting the division of mankind into casts. This may account

* Akber was born in the year of Christ 1542, and proclaimed Emperor in 1556; the 40th year of his reign, consequently, was 1596 of our æra.

for not finding the division into casts to exist in the *Indo-Chinese* nations, or countries lying between India and China, in which it appears the tenets of Buddha have been almost universally introduced.* Buddha was the first, it appears, who opposed human sacrifices, or even bloody sacrifices of any kind; and it is, perhaps, owing to his exertions that the former were entirely abolished, and that the latter are very rarely practised.

A supposition has lately been advanced, that the tenets of Buddha were professed, and prevailed, previously to those of the Brahmins; but the arguments, employed against that opinion, prove, we think, in a way perfectly satisfactory, that the Buddhists are to be considered merely as seceders from the Brahminical faith, many of whose tenets they preserve, in the same manner as is practised by the sectaries of other religions.†

* See pp. 225, 226.

† See *Asiat. Researches*, 8vo. vol. ix. p. 293, article by Mr. H. T. Colebrooke.

With respect to the hatred borne by the Brahmins to the Buddhaists, alluded to by Sir William Jones, and the animosity and enthusiasm, which we must also suppose to exist in their opponents, we may apply an observation made by General Malcolm, on another sect:—"There is no part of oriental biography, in which it is more difficult to separate truth from falsehood, than that which relates to the history of religious impostors. The account of their lives is generally recorded, either by devoted disciples and warm adherents, or by violent enemies and bigotted persecutors. The former, from enthusiastic admiration, decorate them with every quality and accomplishment that can adorn men; the latter, with equal enthusiasm and aversion, misrepresent their characters, and detract from all their merits and pretensions."*

Another sect, called the Jainas, or Jains, now exists, chiefly in Mysore, Canara, and Guzerat. Having adopted some of the tenets of Buddha, they were for some time,

* Sketch of the Sikhs, As. Res. vol. xi.

by strangers, confounded with the Buddhaists. Different, however, from them, they observe the division of the people into four casts, consisting as with the Hindūs, of the Brahmin, the Cshatriya, the Vaisya, and Sudra:* but, on the other hand, they agree with the Buddhaists, in denying the sacred origin of the Vedas, and at the same time in observing many of the doctrines contained in them.

They condemn the practice of sacrifices, and some other ceremonies which the followers of the Vedas perform, holding it absurd to expect to obtain thereby any good effects, either in this world, or in a future state. They are said to admit of no opinions, but such as are founded on perception, or established by irrefragable testimony; they say: "A wise man will only believe what he seeth with his own eyes;" hence they might be considered as atheists: but notwithstanding this maxim, which must be taken in a limited sense, and as regarding miracles, we find a positive de-

* See Note B, in the Appendix.

claration of their belief in a Supreme Being, in a future state of rewards and punishments, and in the doctrine of transmigration. Every animal, they say, from the highest of the species down to the meanest insect, has existed from all eternity, and will continue to do so, though it may undergo changes from a higher to a lower rank, or from a lower to a higher.

They say, that the ancient religion of India, and of the whole world, consisted in the belief of one God, a pure spirit, indivisible, omniscient, and all-powerful : that God having given to all things their appointed order and course of action, and to man a sufficient portion of reason, or understanding, to guide him in his conduct ; he leaves him to the operation of free will, without the entire exercise of which, he could not be held answerable for his actions.*

* See Historical Sketches of the South of India, by Lieutenant-Colonel Mark Wilks. Mr. Wilks quotes, as his authority, a learned Jain Brahmin, named Dhermia, and the Pere Dubois, " a worthy and in-

Their Brahmins, like the other Hindūs, are a sacred tribe, and divided into different classes, each class having its special functions and mode of life.*

The Jainas, equally with the Buddhaists, do not believe in the account given of the creation and universal deluge. They consider the world as eternal, and say that the changes it has undergone, or may undergo, proceed from natural causes; that those changes are only partial, but that the system of the universe, of which this world is a part, is eternally preserved by immutable laws, that have ever existed and must ever continue.

In their temples they have images of *Gurus*, or holy and wise men, whom they are taught to respect; but they hold it as absurd to pretend to represent by any effigy, or image, a being, who, they say, "is all wise; all seeing; the father, or origin

telligent missionary, (says he) who has lived seventeen years among the Hindūs, as one of themselves."

* See note B, in Appendix.

of all ; enjoying eternal bliss ; without beginning or end, without name, infinite, and indescribable."

The Vedas allow to almost all, except the Brahmins, the frugal use of certain animal food, but the Jains, without distinction, are expressly prohibited from it, as well as from the use of spirituous liquors; nor is it lawful for any one to kill an animal of any kind, except the Cshatriya cast, when engaged in war. Self-defence is unquestionably to be allowed, but unnecessarily to deprive any being of life, is regarded as acting in opposition to him by whose will it has existence.

They do not permit the widow to burn herself with the corpse of her husband, but she is forbidden to marry again; nor can she after his death use, or possess any personal ornament.

The only obsequies observed by them, are, burning the body, and throwing the ashes into water, but by preference into rivers, should a facility of doing it present itself.

They suppose two souls, which may be termed the *divine* soul, and the *vital* soul. The former is a pure spirit; the other, more immediately united with our corporal substance, and possessing desires and affections: but we do not find that they consider the divine soul as an emanation of the Supreme Being, as almost all other Hindūs do.

In addition to what has already been stated,* the following passage from Dr. Taylor's work above cited,† will still further illustrate the tenets of this sect.

“ The Jainas, in their philosophical opinions, have been supposed to resemble the Sankhyas; but their tenets exhibit rather a mixture of the Sankhya and

* Besides the authorities before quoted, see an article on the Jains, by Major Mackenzie, *Asiat. Researches*, vol. ix. p. 244; one by Mr. H. T. Colebrooke, *ibid.* p. 287;—and “ Journey from Madras, through the countries of Mysore, Canara, and Malabar, performed by order of the Marquis of Wellesley, Governor-General of India, by Francis Buchanan, M. D.”

† See Appendix to the *Prabodh Chandro Daya*.

Mimangsa doctrines, than an exclusive adoption of either. Like the Mimangsa, they believe that the Supreme Being is motion, and that he is without figure, impassible, and all-pervading; and like the Sankhyas they believe in the eternity of the world, and conceive that the soul is only a refined species of matter, which possesses thought and understanding; and which, pervading the whole body, illuminates it as a lamp does the apartment in which it is kept. Wherever there is blood, say they, there is soul. As the infinite Being is indescribable and incomprehensible, they direct their worship to Tirthakars, or deified men. The great Being is omniscient, but the soul possesses only finite knowledge. Man is elevated to the state of the infinite Being, by renouncing secular concerns, and devoting himself to contemplation and divine worship; but, like the Mimangsa, they conceive that holy actions are required to secure eternal beatitude."

But after examining all that is said in

regard to the nature and existence of the soul, it appears to us, notwithstanding the obscurity of the subject, and seeming contradictions that occur, that the Hindūs in general believe in the existence of two souls, the *vital* and the *divine* soul ; the former of which animates the mortal frame, and may be supposed to perish with it ; while the other is an emanation of the spirit of God,—but not a portion of that spirit ; it is compared to the heat and light sent forth from the sun, which neither lessens nor divides its own essence.*

The tenets and practices of the Sikhs will form the subject of a separate chapter.

* See *Laws of Menu*, chapter 9th, on *Transmigration* and *Final Beatitude*, Jones, 8vo. edit. vol. viii. as well as other works ; and various quotations of Gowtama, &c. in Craufurd's *Sketches on the Hindūs*, vol. i. p. 262.

CHAPTER VII.

OF THE SIKHS.

THE Sikhs,* of much more modern origin than all the other sects we have mentioned, now occupy a considerable, and, from its situation, important territory in Hindūstan.† The founder of their religion, named Nanac

* The Sikhs derive their appellation from the Sanscrit root *Sikh*, to learn.

† Hindūstan, in the general acceptance of the word by Europeans, is supposed to mean the whole countries lying between the Indus and the Ganges, from the Tartarian mountains, on the north, to the sea, where the land terminates in the point named Cape Comorin: but Hindūstan *proper*, or the country originally so denominated by the Persians, meaning the country of the Hindūs, extends no farther south, as has been observed, than the river Nerbudda, or to the parallel of about twenty-two degrees north latitude.—See *Rennell*.

Shah, was born in the year 1469 of our æra, at a village named Talvandi,* in the district of Bhatti, in the province of Lahore. His father, named Calu, was of the Cshatriya, or warrior cast. He left only two children, Nanac, and a daughter, called Nanaii, who married a Hindū named Jayaram. Nanac was also married at an early age to a young maiden of his own tribe, by whom he had two sons, named Srichand and Lacshmi Das. He is said to have been, from his infancy, of a religious turn; and many stories are told of the wonderful indications then given by him of extraordinary wisdom. About the age of twenty-five, quitting Lahore, he visited most of the holy places in the eastern parts of Hindūstan; in a second excursion he went to the south, passed over to Ceylon, returned to Lahore, and in a third journey went into Persia and Arabia, visiting the

* This place, now grown into a considerable town, named Rāyapūr, is situated on the banks of the Beyah, or Hyphasis of the Greeks.

temples of Mohammed, at Mecca and Medina. In these excursions he was accompanied by a celebrated musician, named Merdana, and a person of the name of Sandhu, who preserved an account of his adventures. In the course of his travels he had many disputes to maintain with learned doctors of the Brahminical and Mohammedan faith; but, being an enemy to discord, he defended his tenets with moderation, avoiding every opportunity of giving offence. He wished to persuade men to renounce what he considered as useless, or criminal fictions, and to confine their faith to the great principle of religion, a belief in the omnipotence and unity of God. Being at Vatala, he was called upon by some Yōgis-Waras,* to exhibit some miracle as proof of his powers; he replied, "I have nothing to exhibit worthy of you to behold; a holy teacher has no defence but the purity of his doctrines; the world

* Hermits, who pass their lives in privations of every thing that can serve to gratify the senses.

may change, but the Creator is unchangeable." These words, says his biographer,* were no sooner pronounced than the Yōgis-Waras fell at the feet of the humble Nanac. He seems to have spent about fifteen years in his different journeys, but on his return from his third excursion, he declared his resolution of not quitting his native country any more, and took up his residence at Kirtipur-Dehra, on the banks of the Ravi,† in a convenient dwelling that was prepared for him by the Rajah of Kullanore, who had become one of his disciples. There he spent the rest of his days in peace, and, as he loved retirement, free from the cares and bustle of this world: his wife and children dwelt at Kullanore, coming occasionally to visit him. Having obtained extensive fame for wisdom and piety, persons of all persuasions went to converse with him, or listen to his discourse; and the Sikhs say, that *when they*

* Bhai Guru Das Vali.

† The Hydraotes of the Greeks.

heard him, they forgot that mankind had any religion but one. He died about the age of seventy, and was buried on the bank of the Ravi, which has since overflowed his tomb. Kirtipur continues to be a place of religious resort, and a piece of Nanac's garment is still shewn in the temple there, to devout pilgrims who come to visit it. Passing by his children and relations, he named as his successor to teach his doctrines, a favourite disciple and companion, likewise of the Cshatriya cast, called Lehana, to which name he added that of Angad, signifying the deliverer of precepts. Lehana died in 1552, leaving two sons, Vasu and Datu, but named as his successor Amera Das, a Cshatriya of the tribe of Bhalé. Amera was distinguished for his zeal in propagating the tenets of Nanac, and obtained many converts to them. He had a son, named Mohan, and a daughter, Mohani, whom he married to a young man of his own cast, named Ram Das. Dying in the year of Christ 1574, he declared Ram Das his successor, who be-

came famous for his piety. The town of Kujarawal, where his father-in-law Amera had resided, was greatly enlarged and improved by him. It was afterwards for some time named Rampur, or Ramdaspur, but having caused a famous tank, or reservoir of water to be constructed, which he called Amritsar, or the fountain of ambrosia, the city now bears that name. Ram Das died in 1581, and was succeeded by his eldest son named Arjun Mal, who compiled and arranged the doctrines of Nanac, in a work intituled *Adi-Granth*, or *The first Book*.* Arjun for some time propagated

* In communications made to the author by the late Colonel Polier, he calls it *Pathy*, but both *Pathy* and *Grantha* signify book.

“ The first sacred volume of the Sikhs contains ninety-two sections; it was partly composed by Nanac and his immediate successors, but received its present form and arrangement from Arjunmal, who blended his own additions with what he thought most valuable in the compositions of his predecessors. Though the original *Adi-Granth* was thus compiled by Arjunmal, from the writings of Nanac, Angad, Amera Das, and Ram Das, and enlarged and improved by his own additions and

his tenets with great success, but having excited the attention and jealousy of the Mohammedan government, he was arrested, thrown into prison, and, it is said, cruelly put to death in the year 1606. The Sikhs, who till then had been a peaceable and inoffensive sect, took arms under his son and successor Har Govind. Now arose that desperate and implacable hatred which has ever since animated the followers of Nanac and Mohammed against each other. This chieftain is reputed to be the first who permitted his followers to eat all animal food, except the cow species. Har Govind had five sons, Babu-Gúrú Daitya, Saurat-Sinh, Tégh Sinh, Anna Ray, and Atal Ray: the two last died without issue, the eldest died before his father, leaving two

commentaries, some small portions have been subsequently added by thirteen different persons, whose numbers, however, are reduced, by the Sikh authors, to twelve and a half; the last contributor to this sacred volume being a woman, is only admitted to rank in the list as a fraction, by these ungallant writers.”—*General Malcolm.*

sons, Dáharmal and Har Ray, who succeeded his grand-father Har Govind, in 1644. Saurat-Sinh and Tégh Sinh were obliged by the persecution of the Mohammedans, to flee into the mountains to the north of the Panjab. It appears that Har Ray, being of a mild, tranquil temper, was not disturbed by the Mohammedans. At his death, in 1661, a contest arose which of his sons, Har Crishn or Ram Ray, should succeed him. The dispute was referred to the imperial court of Dehly, when by a decree of Aurengzebe, the Sikhs were allowed to chuse themselves their spiritual leader, for their chief had now scarcely any temporal power. The choice fell on Har Crishn, who died at Dehly, in 1664, and was succeeded by his uncle, Tégh Sinh, who, at the instigation of his nephew, Ram Ray, who had remained at Dehly, was seized, brought thither, and confined in prison, where he remained two years, when he was released at the intercession of Jaya Sinh, Rajah of Jayapour, whom he accompanied to Bengal, and took up his re-

sidence at Patna where a Sikh college had been established.* But the malice of Ram Ray still pursuing him in his retreat, by an order from court he was again arrested, brought away from Patna, and (the Sikhs say) publicly put to death. The son of Tégh Singh, named Guru Govind Singh, though yet a youth, resolved to avenge the death of his father, and, if possible, deliver his countrymen from their present humiliating and oppressed state. Their history from this period assumes a new aspect; we shall gradually find them become a warlike, and at length a powerful people. Hitherto they had been forbidden the use of arms except merely in self-defence; but Guru Govind judged perseverance in those maxims to be incompatible with their security and independence.

Having collected a large party of fol-

* See an account of this college, by Mr. (now Dr.) Charles Wilkins, who visited it.—*Asiat. Res.* 8vo. vol. i. p. 288.

lowers, he caused them to swear eternal hatred to the Mohammedans, and in no case, however great the extremity, ever to submit to them; and he exacted the same oath from all those who afterwards joined him. Having been acknowledged Guru or spiritual leader, as well as temporal chief, in addition to the former tenets of his sect, he admitted as laudable all just exertions for obtaining worldly advantages: he declared such as should enter into the sect, upon a level with all the other Sikhs, and ordained that distinctions should depend entirely on what should be done to merit them. Hence the highest of the Hindū casts, who became a Sikh, had no pre-eminence over the Sudras who are the lowest: but besides that the Sudras compose by far the most numerous cast, he knew that they would more readily be disposed to quit it, than those of the superior tribes. Further, to inspire men, hitherto of mean habits, with more elevated sentiments, he gave to all his warlike followers, without

exception, the name of *Sinh*, or *Lion*, till then exclusively assumed by the Rajapūts. To reconcile those of superior birth with having Sudras introduced amongst them, he employed some of these to bring away the remains of Tégh Singh from Dehly, a thing which all the Sikhs most ardently desired, but which had never been thought practicable. The service, though most difficult, was performed; and those who had not only displayed an extraordinary degree of courage, but dexterity in executing it, were unanimously allowed to have merited the honors that were conferred on them. Numbers of the same class afterwards resorted to his standard, and many imitating the example that had been set to them, and to maintain their reputation, distinguished themselves by their valour and good conduct.

In the Panjab his cause was warmly espoused by a Hindū chief, in rebellion against the Mohammedan government, and who gave him possession of Mak'haval, and

some villages contiguous to it on the banks of the Setlege.* He ordained that his disciples, on meeting each other, should begin their salutations, by saying, *Success to the state of the Guru! Victory ever attend the Guru!* and that they should wear a dress of a blue colour, and preserve their hair and beards. The last ordinance was, perhaps, merely to distinguish them from other classes; but an institution by which all were enjoined to exercise arms, and to use an exclamation that so frequently revived in their minds the sentiment of attachment to their chief and the state, announce the policy of the Guru as a leader. We shall not follow Govind through the subsequent part of his life. After great efforts to defend himself against the powerful forces sent to subdue him, by the Emperor Aurengzebe, he was ultimately obliged to abandon the Panjab. Neither the place nor manner of his death has been transmit-

* The Hesudrus of the Greeks.

ted to us. He left several writings behind him, on theological subjects, commentaries of his life, and a history of his pedigree. He was the tenth and last acknowledged spiritual chief of the Sikhs.—A prophecy had limited the number to ten, but a faithful disciple and friend of Govind, named Banda, united the Sikhs under his banners: and the disorders that happened on the death of Aurengzebe, in 1707, afforded him a favourable opportunity of again bringing them into the field. After defeating different parties of Mohammedans, he resolved to attack Foujdar Khan, governor of Sirhind, who was particularly obnoxious to the Sikhs, as murderer of the infant children of Govind Singh. A battle was fought with great valour on both sides; but the Sikhs, inspired with a spirit of religious frenzy, accompanied by the deadly wish of revenge, ultimately prevailed. Foujdar Khan fell, and with him the greatest part of his army. Banda entering Sirhind cut off almost all the Mohammedans whom he found there. He next subdued the coun-

try between the Setlege and the Jumna,* and, crossing that river, made inroads into the province of Saharanpur. The first check which the Sikhs received after these successes, was from a general of the Emperor Behauder Shah, named Kūli Khan; who defeated a body of them that had advanced to Pannipath. The death of Behauder Shah, which happened about this time, and the confusion that ensued, prevented Kūli from pursuing the advantage he had obtained, and Banda soon afterwards defeated Islam Khan, the governor of Sirhind: but a large army being sent against him by the Emperor Farakseir, under the command of Abdal Samad Khan, an officer of high reputation, after a most desperate action, Banda was defeated, and his followers dispersed. With some of these he got into the fortress of Lohgad, where, after suffering extreme famine, he was constrained to surrender. Banda, with several principal persons of his tribe were

* The Hesudrus and Jomanes of the Greeks.

sent prisoners to Dehly, where, after being exposed to every sort of popular insult, they were publicly put to death.*

Though the Sikhs followed Banda to the field, they do not revere his memory in a religious view, or consider him as a spiritual leader; and he is even spoken of by some of their writers as a heretic. He

* A Mohammedan author, in a work intituled *Seir Mutákherin*, thus relates the circumstances of their deaths :

“It is singular that these people not only behaved firmly during their execution, but they disputed with each other who should suffer first, each making interest with the executioner to obtain the preference. Banda was at last produced, his son being seated in his lap, his father was ordered to cut his throat, which he did, without uttering one word. Being then brought nearer the magistrate, the latter ordered his flesh to be torn off with red-hot pincers, and it was in those torments he expired; his black soul taking its flight, by one of those wounds, towards the regions for which it was so well fitted.” No person of even the most common feeling, can read this account without a sentiment of horror, and indignation against the perpetrators of those murders, and the author who relates them.—See *Sketch of the Sikhs*, by General Malcolm.

was by birth a Hindū, of those people known by the name, Bairaghi. Amongst other changes proposed by him, he wished to make the Sikhs refrain from eating flesh, abandon their blue dress, and instead of the salutations commanded by Guru Govind, to say on meeting each other, "*Success to piety, success to the sect.*" The class of Acalis, or *immortals*, which had been established by Govind, opposed Banda's innovations with inflexible perseverance; for which many of them suffered martyrdom. At the death of Banda all the institutions of Govind were restored; but the *entire* blue dress, instead of being, as at first, worn by all Sikhs, is now the particular distinction of the Acalis.

After the defeat of Banda, the Sikhs were pursued by the Mohammedans with implacable fury. An imperial edict was issued, ordering all who professed the religion of Nanac, wherever they should be found, to be instantly put to death without any form of trial. A reward was offered for the head of every Sikh; and to give

more effect to the edict, all Hindūs were commanded, under pain of death, to cut off their hair. Such as could escape their persecutors, fled into the woods and mountains which bound the Panjab on the N.E. From that time to the invasion of India by Nadir Shah, in 1738, little is known of the Sikhs. Soon after that event, we find them established principally at Delawál on the banks of the Ravy,* where they constructed a fortress. Here they resumed their warlike predatory habits, and are said to have harassed and plundered the straggling parties of the Persian army on its return from Dehly. The state to which the empire was reduced by this invasion, and the weak character of Mohammed Shah, its sovereign, were opportunities eagerly seized, and actively employed by the Sikhs, to extend their possessions: and the admission into their sect of numerous military

* By Rennell termed the Rauvee: it is the Hydrates of the Greek Geographers.

adventurers, and others, who in consequence of the disasters that had happened, were left without employment, seems at this period to have prodigiously increased their force. Since the death of Guru Govind, no spiritual leader had been chosen by them; nor, since that of Banda, any temporal chief; they therefore do not now appear as acting under one supreme authority, but as following the banners of different chiefs, who from rank, property, or extraordinary valour and talents, were enabled to form parties; and hence we presume is the origin of that federative community of Rajahs or chiefs, of which the constitution of that extraordinary people is composed. The influence of those chiefs in their federative councils, was naturally then, as now, in proportion to their respective force, or as sometimes happens in all assemblies, that which is obtained by address and the powers of eloquence. But, according to their institutions, the *Guru-Mata*, or national council, in case of war, chuses for a limited time a military leader.

The Sikhs gradually made themselves masters of the Duabs* of Jallindhara and Ravy, or country situated between the Ravy† and Beyah,‡ and between the latter and the Setlege.§ They, however, received several checks from Mir Munnoo, the Mohammedan governor of Lahore, who named Adina Beg Khan to the charge of the countries in which the Sikhs had principally established themselves. Adina Beg defeated them in an action fought near Makhaval; but whether from policy, or as it is pretended from being himself secretly of their religion, instead of prosecuting hostilities, he entered into a negotiation with them, which ended in their engaging on their part to desist from their predatory conduct, and on his, in promising to leave them undisturbed in the terri-

* Duab signifies a tract of land nearly enclosed by the approximation of two rivers. That formed by the Ganges and Jumna is called, by way of pre-eminence, *The Duab*.—*Rennell*.

† Hydraotes.

‡ Hyphasis.

§ Hesudrus.

tories then held by them. At the death of Mir Munnoo, Adina Beg succeeded him in the government of Lahore. Threatened by the Afghans under their sovereign Ahmed Shah Duranny, or as he is more generally named, Ahmed Shah Abdalla, he entered into a confederacy with the Sikhs, by which they were encouraged to make incursions into the Afghan territories. Ahmed, irritated by the conduct of the governor of Lahore, who he knew was encouraged in it by the court of Dehly, resolved to invade India.—This celebrated person, founder of the Afghan monarchy, was born in Candahar, of an illustrious family. Hussein Cawn, governor of that province, had caused Ahmed and his brother Zulfecur Cawn to be arrested and confined, but they were released by Nadir Shah, on his invasion of that country, who sent them into Mezenderān. Zulfecur died there, but we find Ahmed, shortly after the return of Nadir from his eastern expedition, commanding a body of Afghan and Ouzbec cavalry in his army, and become

one of his favourite generals. The day after the assassination of Nadir, Ahmed was summoned by the conspirators to meet them for the purpose of deliberating on the measures to be taken, but he refused attendance. Though the body of troops he commanded, consisted of only a few thousand cavalry, it was a select band. After a short but sharp action between him and some of the conspirators, finding his force and means unequal to maintaining the contest, and having learnt also, that Ali Kouli Khan, the nephew of Nadir, was at the head of the conspiracy, he ably withdrew, carrying with him a part of Nadir's treasure, which, some time before that event, had been committed to his care. Proceeding towards his own country, he found at Candahar a convoy of money coming from India to Nadir, which he also seized. He afterwards progressively took possession of and subdued, besides Candahar, all the extensive countries, which, afterwards, composed under him the Afghan empire.

In consequence of the provocation given him by Adina Beg and the Sikhs, having

crossed the Attock, Adina unable to oppose him, fled towards Dehly, while Ahmed continuing to advance, levied heavy contributions as he went. The emperor Mohammed Shah, who, in 1738, had been obliged to lay his crown at the foot of Nadir,* still reigned at Dehly. He sent a numerous army to oppose the Afghans, under the command of his son, who like the leader of these was also named Ahmed. The prince was accompanied by the Vizir Kimmer Ul Dean Khan, the person in whom the emperor alone confided, and who in all his vicissitudes had ever remained

* Nadir Shah entered India in the beginning of 1738, and re-crossed the Indus at the end of 1739. "The cruelties exercised by him in India, were such, that a dervise had the courage to present a writing to him, conceived in these terms: *If thou art a god, act as a god; if thou art a prophet, conduct us in the way of salvation; if thou art a king, render the people happy, and do not destroy them.* To which the barbarian replied: *I am no god, to act as a god; nor a prophet, to shew the way of salvation; nor a king, to render the people happy: but I am he whom God sends to the nations which he has determined to visit with his wrath.*"—Orme's *Hist.* vol. i. p. 23.

faithful to him. The armies being in presence of each other, different partial actions took place. In one of these, the vizir was killed by a cannon shot. The news of this event being carried to the emperor, he was so deeply affected by it, that he died the next day in a convulsive agony of grief. The Shah-Zadda, or hereditary prince, on receiving intelligence of the demise of his father, gave the command of the army to the son of the late vizir, and hastened to the capital, where he was proclaimed emperor.

We do not mean to follow the Afghan monarch in the course of his expeditions, either on the western or eastern side of the Indus. Returning from one of the latter to his own dominions, he left a body of troops in Sirhind, under one of his generals, named Jehan Khan; and another under his son Taimur in Lahore, with orders to take vengeance on the Sikhs, for having borne arms against him. The first enterprise of Taimur was on Amritsar, which he destroyed; an outrage, that so exasperated

the Sikhs, that all who were capable of bearing arms, assembled in order to avenge it. Taimur made several attacks upon them, in which he was constantly repulsed by a leader of much celebrity, named Jasa Sinh Calal, who even got possession of the town and fortress of Lahore. Adina Beg, who still bore the title of governor of the province for the emperor, invited to his assistance an army of Mahrattas, which had already advanced towards the north under the command of three chiefs, Raghunat Rao Sahib Pateil, and Malhar Rao: but these chiefs, instead of aiding him, entered and subdued Sirhind, expelling from thence the Afghan general Jehan Khan. They next advanced into Lahore, which they likewise reduced. From hence a detachment from their army was sent into Moulton, whilst Sahib Pateil advanced with another corps and took position on the banks of the Attock in order to observe the Afghans who were in force on the western side of the river. But the commotions that broke out in Hindūstan and in the

Deckan, obliged the Mahratta armies to quit Lahore and return towards the south. Adina Beg died in the ensuing year, 1760, and the Sikhs profited by the present state of things to re-establish their authority in the province. In the same year another Mahratta army again advanced toward the north, with the avowed intention of making the conquest of that part of Hindūstan. The nominal commander of this army was a youth of seventeen years, eldest son of Bala Row the Peishwa, or efficient chief of the Mahratta state; the real commander was Sedasheo Row Bow, who had for some years occupied the place of first minister to the Peishwa; but, though an able statesman, he seems to have been destitute of the qualities of a general. Contrary to what had been in former times the mode of warfare of the Mahrattas, his army was encumbered with artillery and baggage.* After remaining for some time at Agra and the countries contiguous to it, the Bow, as

* See Appendix, Note C.

he is generally called, marched to Dehly, of which city he took possession. The periodical rains having set in soon after his arrival there, he put his army into cantonments. The Afghan monarch had for some time past been too much occupied in his own dominions, to take any active part in the transactions in India; but being warmly pressed by some Mohammedan chiefs to come to their assistance against the Mahrattas, he again crossed the Attock. Those chiefs having joined him with their forces, and consented to be guided by him, he marched against the Mahratta leaders, who instead of advancing to meet him, established themselves in a strong position at Panniputh, in the province of Dehly, and about forty-five miles north of that city. The Mahrattas counted above 200,000 men under arms, even after the desertion of the Jats, who secretly quitted them. The Mohammedan army amounted to about 150,000. The Mahrattas had covered the most accessible parts of their camp with batteries and entrenchments. The armies

remained in presence of each other near three months, during which several partial actions were fought with various fortune. The activity of Ahmed to prevent supplies from getting into the enemy's camp, had at last reduced the Mahrattas to be in want of subsistence. The Bow, their real commander, having in this extremity resolved to give battle, early on the morning of the 7th of January, 1761, quitted his camp and marched towards the Mohammedans. At day-light the Mahrattas were seen advancing with their numerous artillery distributed in their lines. Ahmed was soon in readiness to receive them. The battle, one of the most bloody and obstinate that almost ever imbrued even the plains of Hindūstan, was completely engaged shortly after sunrise, and continued with unremitting fury till between three and four o'clock in the afternoon, when the Mahrattas began to give way, and soon after fled, leaving dead upon the field, Biswas Row, a youth of most promising qualities, Sedashéo Row Bow, with many other generals, and at

least 50,000 of the best troops of their army. A still greater number is supposed to have perished in the pursuit, for the Afghans gave no quarter. Above two hundred pieces of cannon with all their baggage, including an immense booty taken at Dehly and other places during this expedition, fell into the hands of the conquerors.* Soon after this event Ahmed returned to Cabul, carrying with him, besides the principal part of the richest booty taken from the Mahrattas, a large sum paid to him by the different Mohammedan chiefs for his assistance.

Early in 1762, he again crossed the At-

* See an account of this battle by Casi Rajah Pundit, who was an ocular witness of it. *Asiat. Researches*, vol. iii. p. 488—491. Having examined some of the prisoners, he computes the number of persons of every description, men, women, and children, taken or killed, on this occasion, at near five hundred thousand. This number may appear incredible to those who have not seen Indian armies, but in the usual way of warfare in India, at least three followers of all kinds, may be reckoned to every one who is to fight as a soldier.

tock, and over-ran the whole of the Panjab, every where defeating and dispersing the Sikhs, who took refuge in the woods and mountains. He halted at Lahore, in order to complete the conquest, and regulate the affairs of that province. The Sikhs, thereupon, assembled in Sirhind, where being above a hundred miles from Lahore, they were without apprehension of any immediate danger: but Ahmed, by one of those sudden and rapid movements, to which he frequently had recourse in his operations, after two days march, surprised and defeated them.* The Sikhs lost on this occasion above twenty thousand men, the rest again betook themselves to their fastnesses. Amritsar was now entirely razed to the ground, and the sacred reservoir filled with its ruins. Every Sikh that could be found, was instantly put to death; *pyramids of their heads were to be seen in the market places*; and the walls of such mosques as they were thought to have

* February, 1762.

defiled, were washed with their blood, as an expiation of their pollutions. But these barbarities instead of intimidating and deterring them from farther enterprize, animated them with a desire of revenge, superior to the fears of danger. Though unable to meet Ahmed's troops in the field, they neglected no opportunity to surprise them, and retaliate their cruelties. Some commotions in his western dominions having recalled him to Cabul, they attacked his troops in Lahore, took that city, and there levelled with the ground the mosques, which a few months before, had been stained with the blood of their countrymen. In 1762, Ahmed retook Lahore, and subdued also all the adjacent countries; but being obliged, as before, to recross the Indus, the Sikhs again made themselves masters of the Panjab. The discipline and courage of the Affghans, when deprived of the presence of their leader, gradually declined, and at last yielded to the extraordinary activity and unremitting perseverance of the Sikhs. Ahmed died on the 15th July,

1773, in the 50th year of his age, at a place to the north of Cabul, named Khotoba, whither he had retired on account of the temperature of its climate at that season. He seems to have possessed all the qualities fit for conquering, and forming an empire. With undaunted courage, and a spirit neither to be discouraged by difficulties, nor dismayed by adversity, he was at the same time a skilful captain and consummate politician. In the government of his Affghan and Persian territories, he is said to have been just; liberal in rewarding merit, but severe in his punishments. In warfare he was cruel. He, on those occasions, exhibits one of those terrible but happily rare examples of the exercise of power without mercy, by one insensible to pity, and incapable of remorse.* He left

* Impartiality, however, requires us to observe that a more favourable character of him than that above stated, has been given by Mr. Elphinston, in his *Account of the Kingdom of Cabul and its Dependencies*, p. 557.

“After the battle of Pannyputh, thousands of Mahratta prisoners were put to death by him in cold blood. The

his eldest son, Taimur Shah, the sole heir of his very extensive dominions: but this

body of Biswas Row had been conveyed to the camp of Sujah Ul Dowlah. Ahmed sent for it, he said, *to look at*; all who saw it, were in admiration of its beauty; it was not disfigured by death, but appeared as an innocent youth asleep; he had a wound from a sword in the neck, and one from an arrow over his left eye. Some of Ahmed's troops, who had assembled to gaze at it, called out: *This is the body of a king of unbelievers; it ought to be preserved, and sent to Cabul to be shewn there.* It was accordingly sent to the quarters of one of Ahmed's officers, named Berkhordar Khan. As soon as Sujah Ul Dowlah was informed of what had passed, he waited on Ahmed, and represented to him, that animosity should cease with the life of an enemy; that it was always the custom in Hindūstan, after a victory to restore the bodies of the chiefs, of whatever race or tribe they were, in order that they should receive their proper obsequies, according to the rites of their particular faith; such conduct, he observed, did honour to the victors. Your Majesty, said he, is only here for a time, but Sujah Ul Dowlah, and the other Hindūstanees chiefs, are to reside in this country, and may have future transactions with the Mahrattas, when our conduct on the present occasion will be remembered; therefore let the body be given up to them, that they may act as is customary here.—Though all the Hindūstanees Mohammedan chiefs joined in the request, it re-

Affghan, or, as it is sometimes called, Doweranee and Abdalli empire, such as it then was, no longer exists; having, after various convulsions and changes, been divided under different rulers.*

The Sikhs, soon after the death of Ahmed, made themselves masters of Lahore, and even extended their conquests considerably beyond it. But the countries possessed by them, being divided under different chiefs, who, though confederated, are in the government of their immediate possessions

quired much entreaty and negociation, ere he would consent to send the body back, and permit it, together with the body of Sedashéo Row Bow to be burnt according to the custom of their cast."—*See Account of the battle of Paniput, As. Res.* vol. iii.

* Taimur Shah died after a reign of nineteen years. His government is said to have been mild and equitable, but having relaxed from that strict military discipline, and that exact administration of affairs invariably maintained by his father, his authority declined, order was no longer preserved, and to these causes, and the manner in which he bequeathed his possessions by dividing them, is to be ascribed the dissolution of the Affghan monarchy.

independent, feuds were the natural consequence of such a system. Each chief wished to increase his territories; each became the jealous rival and enemy of his neighbour; each had a fortress, or castle, for his residence, and in the Panjab, not only every town, but every considerable village, is surrounded with walls, to secure those who reside in them from being surprised by the enemies of their chief.* The Guru-Mata, or national council, still exists; but the powerful chiefs frequently refuse to obey its decrees. Hence their combined operations are necessarily tardy and imperfect, whether in the way of defensive or offensive war: and Dowlat Row Scindia, the adopted son and successor of Madah-Jee Scindia, besides compelling the Sikhs to abandon all they had taken possession

* This mode exists in other parts of India, particularly those which by their situation were exposed to sudden incursions of the Mahrattas. Instead of walls, the villages are sometimes inclosed with broad thick hedges, of bamboos and various species of thorns.

of in the province of Dehly, obliged those who had settled in Sirhind, to submit and pay tribute, but who, in consequence of his unsuccessful war with the English, again recovered their independence.

The countries now possessed by the Sikhs, are bounded on the west by the Indus; on the north by the chain of mountains that extend from that river under Cashmire, towards Gungowtry; on the N. E. and E. by the possessions of the mountaineer Rajahs of Jammu, Nadon, and Srinagur, and by the Jumnah; and southward, by the possessions of the English, by the sandy deserts of Jesalmir and Hansaya Hisar, and by the northern borders of Sindy, at the city of Backar, on the Indus. Many parts of their territories, but particularly the Panjab, are remarkably fertile, producing wheat, barley, rice, and various other grain. Grapes, and other fruits, are in the greatest plenty; and in the tract between the Indus and Behut, are some extensive valuable mines of rock-salt.

The word *Panjab* is a compound of the

words *Panj*, five, and *ab*, water, intending thereby to express a country intersected, or watered by five rivers. Those rivers are the Behut, named also Jhyllum, the Chunaub, the Rauvy, the Bheyah, and the Setlege: but besides these five great rivers, it is also watered by several inferior streams. These rivers are not only one of the causes of the great fertility of the Panjab, but for several months of the year almost render it secure against invasion, by the difficulties which they oppose to the progress of armies during the rainy season, when they generally overflow their banks and inundate the neighbouring fields. Lahore, the capital of the Panjab, is situated on the Rauvy, a noble river, having a navigable communication with the Indus and all its various branches.* Lahore is supposed to be the spot where the Bucephalia of Alexander stood. It was the principal place of residence, or capital of the early Mohammedan invaders of Hin-

* Rennell.

dūstan. An avenue of shady trees once extended the whole of the way from thence to Agra, a distance of about five hundred English miles.*

All the descendants of the followers of

* Remains of such avenues are to be met with in different parts of India. They were planted and maintained by the munificence of princes and nobles, not only to ornament their countries, but also for utility. By their shade, travellers were protected from the scorching rays of the sun, and at certain distances found seats to repose themselves. Along the roads also, choultries, or public buildings, are to be found, into which all, of whatever country, or faith, may freely enter, and lodge without expense. Many of those were erected and endowed by the Hindū princes of the country, and many by rich individuals, and not unfrequently in consequence of some pious vow. A Brahmin of inferior order generally resides near the choultry, who furnishes the needy traveller with a portion of rice, and fuel to prepare it. It is not an uncommon practice also, in the southern parts of India, in the extreme hot season, for rich persons to cause numerous intermediate temporary choultries to be erected, which are constructed with timbers, covered with the broad leaves of the palm tree, and where persons constantly attend to furnish *Congi*, or rice-water, ready prepared, to assuage the thirst of those who may chuse to take it.

Guru Govind, are soldiers, and distinguished by the name of Singh, lion; the others are now called merely Sikhs, without Singh being added. The Sikhs may shave their beards and cut off their hair; but those who bear the title of *Singh*, carefully preserve both. The Singh may eat all animal food, except the cow-race, but the others observe almost the same restrictions in their diet as the Hindūs.

The inhabitants of the country situated between the Jumna and Setlege,* are

* “ On the 25th April, I crossed the Setlege. This river seems to have its source in the hills bearing from this about north-east, and flows in a south-westerly direction, through a fine, open, champaign country. Its banks are very low, and it bears the appearance of a fine canal running in two channels, the first fordable, and in breadth about one hundred yards across, and the second, three hundred and fifty; the water is deep but not rapid. There are twenty boats at the ghaut, of rude construction, but well adapted for crossing artillery and cavalry, in one of which both my elephants crossed with ease. They are each capable of containing twenty horses, the men ride into them at once, without dismounting; they resemble in figure an oblong square, with a prow at one

named Málawá Singhs. Sirhind was once the capital of this country, but it is now almost in ruins, owing chiefly to the destructive ravages of Banda,* who not only caused the mosques, but also all the other public buildings, and even palaces, of that once flourishing town, to be demolished. The sacred Seraswati, for which the Sikhs have the highest veneration, flows through this province, whose principal towns now are Patiala and Thánesur.

The country between the Setlege and the Beyah,† is called Jalendra Beit, or Ja-

end. The river, during the rains, is full one and a half mile broad. The distance from the Jumna to the Setlege is six stages, being sixty of their coss, each measuring 2,600 ordinary paces.”—*Tour to Lahore, by an Officer of the Bengal Army. As. Ann. Register, vol. xi. p. 426.*

* See p. 289, 290.

† “ On the 30th April, I crossed the Beyah, on the same kind of boats as at the Setlege. The Beyah flows in two branches, the waters of which are deep but not rapid: its western banks are high, and its breadth cannot be less, in rainy seasons, than one mile and a half.”—*Tour to Lahore.*

Jendra Duab, and the people inhabiting it, Duaba Singhs. This country, which reaches from the mountains of Himalaya, or Imaus, on the N. W. down to the junction of the Setlege and Beyah, at Ferosepour, is one of the most fruitful provinces possessed by the Sikhs, and remarkable for the agreeableness and salubrity of its climate. Its principal towns are Jendra and Sultanpour.

The country between the Beyah and Rauvy, is called Bari Duab, and the people inhabiting it Manj'ha Singh. The city of Lahore, which was considered as the capital of the Panjab, and the holy city of Amritsar, are in this province.

The inhabitants of the country between the Rauvy and Chunab, are called D'harpi Singh. Those between the Chunab and Behat, or Jhelum, are named D'hanighab Singh; those in the countries belonging to the Sikhs between that river and the Indus, Sind Singh; and those in Moultan, Nakai Singh. But notwithstanding the name Singh be given to the inhabitants of each

of the territories we have mentioned here, the general name of the nation is Sikh, and those called Sikhs only, without the appellation *Singh*, are by far the most numerous part of the population.

The government of the Sikhs considered as a state, consists of a federation of a number of independent chiefs; who are masters of their own subjects, and acknowledge no human superior, but declare themselves servants of what they call *Khalsa*,—a mystical word which may be said to mean *in-visible government*; the established rules and laws of which, as explained and fixed by Guru Govind, it is their civil and religious duty to observe.* On great emergencies the Guru-Mata, or national assembly, is summoned to meet at Amritsar,† and this assem-

* Sketch of the Sikhs, by General Malcolm.

† “ Amritsar is an open town, about four coss (nearly eight miles) in circumference. The streets are rather narrow, the houses in general good, lofty, and built of burnt brick; but their apartments are very confined. It is the grand emporium of trade for shawls and saffron

bly, after the due performance of certain religious ceremonies, is supposed to act by

from Cashmeer, and a variety of other commodities from the Dukkun and eastern parts of India. The Rajah levies an excise on all the merchandize sold in the town, according to its value, which is not complained of by the merchants. The exports of this place are very trifling, the inhabitants only manufacturing some coarse kinds of cloth and inferior silks. From being the resort of many rich merchants, and the residence of bankers, Amritsar is considered a place of great opulence. The Rajah has made a new fort here, called Runjeit Ghur, and has brought a canal from the Rauvy, a distance of thirty-four miles.

“ I visited in due ceremony, and without shoes, Amritsar (or the pool of immortality), from which the town takes its name; it is a bason of about one hundred and thirty-five paces square, built of burnt brick, in the centre of which stands a pretty temple, dedicated to Guru Govind Singh, to which you go by a causeway. It is neatly decorated, both within and without, and the Rajah is making additional ornaments to it at his own expense. In this sacred place is lodged, under a silken canopy, the book of laws, as written by Guru Govind Singh, in the Gumuk’hee character. The temple is called Hurmundul, or God’s place; there are from five to six hundred Acalis, or priests, belonging to

the immediate influence of the Khalsa, or *spirit of the invisible government*.

it, who have built good houses for themselves out of the voluntary contributions of people visiting it; they receive considerable sums from the Rajah, who visits it twice a day, during his stay at Amritsar; on which occasion the priests generally press him for money, telling him that his country is the gift of Guru Govind, without whose will he could not hold it. On that account he seldom stays above four or five days, and generally resides at Lahore, which is still considered the metropolis of the Panjab.

“ The Rajah has a mint here, and the different coins are still struck in the name of the greatest saint in their kalendar, namely, Baba Nanuk Shah, who lived in the time of Akber.

“ I again visited Amritsar, but I did not find the priests so courteous and attentive, as on the first day, when they offered me an apartment near the temple, and also gave notice that I might ascend to the top of it when I pleased. But now this indulgence is forbidden, and the apartment shut, both offers being revoked from some doubt of their propriety in the minds of a few of the priests, and one dissenting voice is quite sufficient to deter the whole of them from fulfilling a promise, or from the performance of any previous resolution; however, they sent a choir of psalm-singers to my tent, who sung a number of psalms, as composed by Baba Nanuk

The power of summoning the Guru-Mata, at Amritsar, appertains to the chiefs of the Acalis,* a class of devotees, who with arms as well as exhortations, defended the institutes of Guru Govind against the innovations of the sectary Banda. To distinguish themselves from all other Sikhs, they are dressed in a blue chequered cloth, and wear bracelets of steel round their wrists. The other Sikhs, we believe, are not permitted to wear such bracelets ; but it is the indispensable duty of all Singhs constantly to wear a sword or dagger. The Acalis have

Shah, Guru Govind, and the other saints, to the tune of the Rubab (four stringed instrument), Dotara (two ditto), Sarinda, or Bebec, and the Tublah, transporting the soul to heavenly musings ; and although in so different a language from the songs of David, they strike the ear as compositions of the same kind, and are all in praise of the attributes and unity of God.”—*Tour to Lahore, by an Officer of the Bengal Army. As. Ann. Reg.* vol. xi. p. 430, et seq.

* “ Acali, derived from Acal, a compound term of Cal, death, and the Sanscrit privative *a*, which means *never dying*, or immortal.”—*Sketch of the Sikhs, by General Malcolm.*

a place of residence on the bank of the sacred reservoir of Amritsar, where they generally resort. Though they profess poverty, and to subsist by alms only, they however enjoy property, and not only ask donations, but even extort them, by preventing those who refuse to comply with their demands, from performing their ablutions, or other religious ceremonies at the temple, until they have satisfied their claims. To offend an Acali is to incur the resentment of the whole tribe; and a chief, who may have incurred its enmity, is exposed to have his dependants taught, when they come to pay their devotions at Amritsar, not to serve or obey him, until he shall have expiated his fault.

Besides the Acalis, there are two other religious orders among the Sikhs, named Shahed and Nirmala, many of whom also reside at Amritsar; but these are peaceful tribes, and confine their occupations to the duties of worship, and to read and explain their doctrines. They are in general well educated, and some of them learned men.

Further, there is a third sect called Nanac Pautra, or descendants of Nanac. These also are a mild and inoffensive tribe; and though they do not acknowledge all the institutions of Guru Govind, yet they are revered by his followers, who consider them as the race of their founder. They never carry arms, and, agreeably to the doctrine of Nanac, profess to be at peace with all mankind. Many of them travel about the country as merchants, and are every where protected, even during the most violent internal contests. The institutions of Guru Govind were the necessary consequences of the Sikhs having had recourse to arms, in order to defend themselves; but he, and his followers, ever considered Nanac as their founder, and except in what regards warfare and conquest, adhere to his religious tenets.

The Guru-Mata is summoned only when the nation is threatened with war, or when something may occur to require the combined efforts of the different chiefs. When the assembly has met and the chiefs are

seated, the *Adi-Granth** and other sacred writings are placed before them, to which they all bend their heads, taking God to witness their intention to observe what is ordained by them. In commemoration of an injunction of Nanac, *to eat, and give to others to eat*, a quantity of consecrated cakes, made of flour, butter, and sugar, is then spread before the books of scriptures, and covered with a cloth. All present rise, and bow to them, the Acalis chanting hymns, accompanied with musical instruments. The Acalis then desire the assembly to be seated, when the cakes being uncovered, are presented to, and eaten of by all classes of Sikhs, without any sort of preference or distinction. The chief Acali afterwards exclaims: "Chiefs, this is a *Guru-Mata*!" on which prayers are again offered to the divinity. When these are ended, the chiefs sit closer, and say to each other, "the sacred *Granth* is betwixt us: let us swear by it to forget all internal disputes, and to be

* See p. 282, *supra*.

united.” The matter on which they are assembled being then exposed, they proceed to deliberate upon it, to adopt plans of conduct, and if in danger of being attacked by any power, or in case of resolving to wage war themselves, they chuse generals to lead their armies.* The army thus assembled, is called the *D'al Khalsa*, or army of the state.

The chiefs are all descended from Hindū tribes, “and there is no instance of any Sikh of a Mohammedan family attaining any high situation among them.” The hatred, entertained by the followers of Guru Govind against his persecutors, exists with all its primitive warmth; the offspring of those who changed Islamism for the Sikh faith, are not regarded with the same cordiality as the Sikhs of Hindū origin; and

* General Malcolm observes, that the first Guru-Mata was assembled by Guru Govind, and the latest he knew of, in 1805, when the Mahratta chief, Holkar, fled into the Panjab, and the British army, under Lord Lake, went thither in pursuit of him.

the Mohammedans, who yet remain in the Sikh territories, though numerous, are a poor, oppressed, and despised people; while the Sikhs in general, Singhs and others, are secured from violence; not only by the precepts of their religion, but by the state of the country, which, being divided under numerous chieftains, enables those who may be dissatisfied with their own particular chief, to quit him, and soon place themselves under another, perhaps his enemy or rival. The persons to whom the chiefs commit the management of the revenue and other civil employments, are Sikhs, named *Khalasa*, who are strict followers of the doctrines of Nanac, and brought up to peaceful occupations.

It is a general rule throughout the Panjab, and we presume through the Sikh territories in general, that the chiefs, or proprietors of the land, should receive one-half of its produce, and the cultivator the other half: “but the chief never levies the whole of his share, and in no country, per-

haps, is the Rayat, or cultivator, treated with more indulgence.”* The portion to the chief in grain, is paid in kind, but the sugar-cane and other articles of produce, in money, by estimation. The distracted state in which the Panjab was so long involved, and afterwards, the heavy duties exacted by the different chiefs on the transit of merchandize through their territories, had induced the merchants of other parts of India, in their commerce with Cashmire, instead of bringing their goods, as formerly, through the Panjab, to carry them by the circuitous and mountainous tract through Jammu, Nadôn, and Srinagur; but the Sikh chiefs seeing the hurtful consequences of their impolitic exactions, have for some years past, by a wise and moderate conduct, restored confidence to the merchant, and the immense quantity of shawls brought yearly into the peninsula of India, now

* Sketch of the Sikhs, by General Malcolm.

passes through the cities of Lahore and Amritsar.*

The administration of justice among the Sikhs is in a comparatively loose and imperfect state ; for, though their sacred writings inculcate certain general maxims, they are not considered as positive laws, like the institutes of Menu among the Hindūs, or the Korān among the Mohammedans. The decision of criminal matters, and civil cases of importance, depends almost entirely on the will of the chief. Trifling contests, and matters of property to a certain amount, are settled by the heads of the village where the parties reside, by whom they are mutually chosen. This is called Panjayat, or court of five, the number of arbitrators. Such courts and modes of proceeding, are much in use among the Hindūs in general ; and as the members of it are chosen from men of the best reputation, there is rarely

* Mr. Elphinston, in his account of Cabul, estimates the number of shawls made annually in Cashmire at eighty thousand.

cause to complain of injustice or partiality in their decisions.*

The Sikhs have, in general, the Hindū cast of countenance, though by the Singhs it is somewhat disfigured by their long beards.† The Singhs are bold, and, perhaps, rather rough in their address, but this is less the effect of character, than a habit of speaking in a loud tone of voice, for they have no intention to offend, or be imperious.‡ The Sikh merchant, or

* General Malcolm, in his Sketch of the Sikhs, says, that a Sikh priest who had been several years at Calcutta, spoke of this mode of administering justice, with rapture; and insisted, says the general, “with true patriotic prejudice,” on its great superiority to the system and forms of the English laws, which were, he said, “tedious, vexatious, and expensive, and advantageous only to a set of clever rogues.”

† Tour to Lahore, As. An. Reg. vol. xi.

‡ “The old Sikh soldier generally returns to his native village, where his wealth, courage, or experience, always obtains him respect, and sometimes station and consequence. The second march which the British army made into the country of the Sikhs, the headquarters were near a small village, the chief of which,

husbandman, if he is a Singh, differs little in character and appearance from the sol-

who was upwards of a hundred years of age, had been a soldier, and retained all the look and manner of his former occupation. He came to me, and expressed his anxiety to see Lord Lake. I shewed him the general, who was sitting alone, in his tent, writing. He smiled, and said he knew better : the hero who had overthrown Scindiah and Holkar, and had conquered Hindūstan, must be surrounded with attendants, and have plenty of persons to write for him. I assured him that it was Lord Lake, and on his lordship coming to breakfast, I introduced the old Singh, who seeing a number of officers collect round him, was at last satisfied of the truth of what I said ; and, pleased with the great kindness and condescension with which he was treated by one whom he justly thought so great a man, sat down on the carpet, became quite talkative, and related all he had seen, from the invasion of Nadir Shah to that moment. Lord Lake, pleased with the bold manliness of his address, and the independence of his sentiments, told him he would grant him any favour he wished. *I am glad of it*, said the old man, *then march away with your army from my village, which will otherwise be ruined*. Lord Lake, struck with the noble spirit of the request, assured him he would march next morning, and that, in the mean time, he should

dier, except that his occupations and habits tend to render him milder in his manners. He also wears arms, and is prompt to use them, whenever his individual interest, or that of the community in which he lives, requires him to do so. The general occupations of the Khalasa Sikhs* have been already mentioned. Their character differs widely from that of the Singhs. Full of intrigue, pliant, versatile, and insinuating, they have all the art of the lower classes of Hindūs, who are usually employed in transacting business; and from whom, in-

have guards, who would protect his village from injury. Satisfied with this assurance, the old Singh was retiring, apparently full of admiration and gratitude at Lord Lake's goodness, and of wonder at the scene he had witnessed, when, meeting two officers, at the door of the tent, he put a hand upon the breast of each, exclaiming at the same time, *brothers! where were you born, and where are you at this moment?* and without waiting for an answer, proceeded to his village."—*Sketch of the Sikhs, by General Malcolm.*

* Those brought up to accounts, matters of revenue, trade, &c.

deed, as they have no distinction of dress, it is very difficult to distinguish them.*

But “upon the whole, the Sikhs in general are a plain, manly, hospitable, and industrious people. If a Sikh declares himself your friend, he will not disappoint your confidence; if on the other hand he bears enmity to any one, he declares it without reserve.”†

* General Malcolm.

† Tour to Lahore.

In passing through Sirhind, or that large tract of country belonging to the Sikhs, between the Jumnah and Setlege, the author says:—“The inhabitants throughout this country, bear a high character for hospitality and kindness to strangers. Their benevolence is not narrowed by bigotry or prejudice, and disclaims the distinctions of religion or complexion. They are particularly attentive to travellers of all casts or countries. The chief of every town makes a point of subsisting all poor and needy travellers, from his own funds, a part of which is set aside for that purpose, and when that falls short, from an encreased number of indigent claimants, their wants are supplied by a subscription made from the principal inhabitants of the place. It is very pleasing to travel through the towns and villages of this country. The inhabitants receive

It is observed that the Hindūs who become converts to the Sikh religion, continue to adhere to the usages and customs of the tribe or cast to which they belonged, as far as they may do so without infringing the tenets of Nanac, or the institutions of Guru Govind: hence they scarcely ever marry out of the descendants of their particular casts. The Brahmins and Cshatriyas who become Sikhs, continue strictly to observe this; being the highest orders of Hindūs, they seem more tenacious than any other of maintaining their race unmixed with other blood. The Mohammedans who become Sikhs, also intermarry with each other, but they are not allowed to observe any of the practices peculiar to the professors of Islāmism.

A Singh, though infinitely less scrupulous than the Hindū, before he will eat with any one of another religion, draws his sword, and passing it over the victuals,

the stranger with an air of welcome that prepossesses him in their favour."

repeats a few words of prayer, after which he will sit down and sociably partake of the meal.*

The Sikhs have but one wife; in the event of her death the widower may marry again; but if the husband die, the widow cannot enter a second time into the nuptial state. They burn their dead, and the funeral pile, as with the Hindūs, is lighted by the nearest relation of the deceased. It sometimes, though very rarely, happens, that the widow burns herself with the body of her husband,—a practice from which it is said that Nanac, if he did not positively forbid it, at least recommended them to abstain.† He condemns excessive grief

* This interesting fact was communicated to the author by Mr. John Stuart, who, amongst his other numerous and extensive travels, visited the Panjab.

† The author of the tour to Lahore, alleges, however, that at the city of Jummoo, “it is considered as an indispensable sacrifice to the manes of the deceased husband; and, if the widow does not voluntarily attend the corpse of her husband, and consign herself with it to the flames, the Rajepoots consider it their duty, in

for those who die; which he considered to be as blamable as to regret the performance of any sacred obligation, or rendering up what may have been for a time confided to us.

such cases, to put her to death, and to cast her body into the fire, to be burnt with her husband's. So horrible a custom as this, does, I believe, no where else prevail. However frequent the instances of widows devoting themselves to death on the pile with their deceased husbands, yet in all these cases, excepting in the city of Jummoo, if it be not in every instance voluntary, there is no where else, that it is ever urged or enforced by any measure of compulsion." But, notwithstanding the regard we think due to this author, yet as it does not appear that he ever visited Jummoo himself, and as he has omitted to state his authority for what is here advanced, we may be allowed to suspend our belief of it until confirmed by proof resulting from more exact and particular inquiry. Art and persuasion may, perhaps, be employed to induce unhappy victims to sacrifice themselves, but we never heard of any instance where compulsion was used. The city of Jummoo is situated on the Chunab, in about N. Lat. 33. We know not whether it be included in the territories of the Sikhs, but from what the author of the tour says, we conceive that it belongs to an independant Rajah-pout prince.

Contrary to the practice of the inhabitants of other parts of Hindūstan, the Sikhs do not smoke tobacco, but they are allowed to use spirituous liquors, and chew Bhang,* which has a strong inebriating quality, and if used to excess, produces a sort of temporary frenzy.

The Singhs, who devote themselves to arms, have all the essential qualities of a soldier, being hardy, active, faithful, and brave. They are strongly attached to their chiefs, and will never desert them while they are treated well. Their troops consist chiefly of cavalry, their infantry being only employed to defend their forts and villages. Their horsemen are equally active and expert as the Mahrattas, with the advantage of being more robust from using more nourishing diet, and inhabiting a cooler climate. They use swords and spears, and many of them carry a match-lock gun, which seems a very uncouth arm for a horseman; but in the use of it, they

* The Cannabis Sativa of Linnæus.

are extremely expert, and are in general excellent marksmen. It carries a larger ball than an European musket, and to a greater distance; and is often employed by them with success, before the enemy be near enough to charge them: but once fired, it is seldom loaded again, recourse being then immediately had to the spear or sabre. In the field, as formerly with the Mahrattas, none but the officers of the highest rank, have tents, which being extremely small, may be struck and transported with quickness and facility. In cold weather the soldier wraps himself, during the night, in a kind of coarse blanket; which, when he marches, serves as a saddle-cloth. Their horses were greatly superior to those in any other part of Hindūstan, but internal contests and warfare having occasioned the care and encouragement formerly given to the breed, to be neglected, it has consequently declined.*

* See Sketches of the Sikhs, by General Malcolm, and Sketches of the Hindūs, by the author of this Es-

Mr. Franklin, in his history of Shaw Al-lum, states the united force of the Sikhs, in cavalry, in 1794, to be 248,000; but General Malcolm, who was in the Panjab, in 1805, computed it then not to exceed 100,000.

The established faith of the Sikhs is pure deism; which, as observed in a former chapter, is unquestionably the fundamental principle of the Hindū faith: for, though it appears that in remote times, as now, veneration was paid to the sun and water, yet it is evident that the Hindūs ever regarded these, only as things placed in the general system of the universe by the Creator.* Nanac, therefore, like Buddha, ap-

say, vol. ii. pp. 248 et seq.; to which may be added, communications made to the author, by Mr. Stuart and the late Colonel Polier.

* “ Veneration for the elements, but especially fire and water, seems to have been common to all the ancient eastern nations. The Medes and Persians considered fire and water as the only true images of the divinity; and it is evident, that the Hindūs, if they do not now worship fire, hold it in religious respect. Every

pears rather in the character of a reformer than a founder of a religion ; he wished to

day at sun-rise the priests go to some river, or to the tanks of their temples, to perform the Sandivancy, or worship to Brahm, *the Supreme*. After having washed themselves, taking water in their right hand, they throw it into the air before and behind them, invoking the Deity, and singing forth thanksgiving and praise. They then throw some towards the sun, expressing their gratitude for his having again appeared to dispel the darkness of the night.

Lucian says, that the Indians offered adoration to the sun, turning themselves towards the east ; and Philostratus observes, that they addressed prayers to him in the morning, to favour the cultivation of the earth ; and in the evening, not to abandon them, but return again in the morning.

Father Bouchet says, that “ He who performs the *Ekiam* should, every morning and evening, put a piece of wood into the fire that is employed for that sacrifice, and take care to prevent it from being extinguished.”

Dr. Wilkins informs us, that the Brahmins are enjoined to light up a fire at certain times, which must be produced by the friction of two pieces of wood of a particular kind ; and that with the fire thus procured, their sacrifices are burnt, the nuptial altar flames, and the funeral pile is kindled.

In the Heetopades it is said : “ Fire is the superior

bring back the Hindūs to the purity of their primitive doctrines, and correct the abuses that had been introduced into them. He wished, if it were possible, to engage all mankind to embrace the same faith, and for the short time they have to remain in this world, to live in peace with each other. In order to conciliate the Hindūs and Mohammedans, and induce them more readily to adopt his tenets, he shewed a certain complacency for the usages of both.

The cow race is considered with as much sacred regard by the Sikhs as by the Hindūs; and we may presume that the Hindū law which prescribes this, was preserved by Nanac for the same reason, for which certainly it was ordained, viz. the extreme utility of the animal. Milk, variously prepared, and butter, especially when melted

of the Brachmans; the Brachman is the superior of the tribes; the husband is the superior of women; but the stranger is the superior of all."—*Sketches of the Hindūs, by the Author of this Essay*, vol. i. p. 232, et seq.

and refined into what is termed Ghee,* are universally used by all Hindūs, but especially by those to whom animal food is forbidden. The ox is the chief beast of burthen throughout India, and the only one employed in tillage. Nanac, though a Hindū by birth, and originally of the Brahminical religion, seems to have been equally well acquainted with the Korān as the Vedas, and to have approved many things contained in both: but, while he allowed the Hindūs and Mohammedans to retain such usages as did not materially affect his own doctrines, he boldly opposes their errors. He speaks of Mohammed and his successors without acrimony, but reprobates their attempts to propagate their religion by violence: “Put on armour (says he) that will hurt no one; let thy coat of mail be that of reason, and convert

* The Ghee may be preserved a considerable time without injury, and is used by Europeans and Mohammedans as well as Hindūs, for culinary purposes, as butter is in Europe.

thy enemies to friends. Fight with valour, but let thy weapon be the word of God." When speaking of the founders of the Hindū and Mohammedan religions, he says: "These are all perishable, God alone is immortal. He alone is a true Hindū whose heart is just, and he only a good Mohammedan whose life is pure."

The first successors of Nanac adhered strictly to the doctrines and spirit of their leader; and though Har Govind, the fifth in succession from him, armed his followers, it was on a principle of self-defence. But Guru Govind, the tenth and last great spiritual chief, gave a new character to the religion of the Sikhs. Animated with a sense of his own wrongs, and those of his tribe, when addressing himself to the Hindūs, in whom he principally trusted, to enable him to oppose the Mohammedans, he sought, by every means, to rouse them to join with him against these. He 'conjured them to devote themselves to arms, by which alone they could hope to deliver

themselves from their oppressors. The distinctions of casts, or birth, were completely abolished by him. The remembrance of descent, and the influence of it, in preserving connexions among particular families, may remain; but it is in no degree sanctioned by law, or interferes in the general order of society. To please his Hindū followers, he professed particular respect for the places held sacred by them; and the dress, adopted by him, and still used by all Singhs, was said to be in imitation of that ascribed to the goddess of courage, Durga Bhavani. It is light, plain, divested of all ornament. Guru Govind, says: "In my dress I follow not the fashion of any one, but use that which has been appointed me. I use no artful locks, nor adorn myself with earrings." The chiefs sometimes wear gold bracelets; these, however, are seldom seen, and the Sikhs are particularly characterised by the simplicity of their dress, manners, diet, and habits of living in general.

Nanac, in order to conciliate the Mohammedans to his tenets, prohibited the use of hog's flesh; and, by not mentioning circumcision, seemed to leave it to them to do in that respect as they thought fit; but Govind expressly forbade the latter, and recommended the former; and the hog, especially the wild hog, which is of a much superior quality to the domestic animal, has become a favourite food with the Sikhs.

But, notwithstanding all that was done by Nanac, and more especially by Govind, in conformity to the notions of the Hindūs, the precepts that were openly professed by both, are subversive of almost the whole practice and mode of worship of the Brahmins. The religion of the Sikhs not only denies a plurality of Gods, but forbids the use of idols, even in the sense explained by the Hindū Pandits, of being merely representations of the different attributes of the Supreme Being; contrary to that of the Hindūs, it admits of proselytes, and eating

all kinds of animal food, except the cow race; and it rejects the division of the people into casts. Like the Hindū, Mohammedan, and, indeed, all other religions we are acquainted with, it announces a state of rewards and punishments; and, according to some Sikh authors, Nanac seemed to believe in the Hindū doctrine of the metempsychosis, or transmigration of souls.

General Malcolm, in his Sketch of the Sikhs, gives an account of the ceremonies observed in admitting proselytes. After these are performed, the disciple is asked, if he consents to be of the faith of Guru Govind. He answers, *I do consent*. He is then told: “If you do, you must abandon all intercourse with, and forbear to eat, drink, or sit in company with men of five sects, which I shall name: the first, the *Mina D'hirmal*, who, though of the race of Nanac, were tempted by avarice to give poison to Arjun;* and though they did not

* The fourth Guru.

succeed, they ought to be expelled from society: the second, are the *Musandia*, a sect who call themselves *Gurus*, or priests, and endeavour to introduce heterodox doctrines: the third, *Ram Rayi*, the descendants of Ram Ray, whose intrigues were the great cause of the destruction of the holy ruler, Tegh Singh: the fourth, are the *Kudi-mar*, or destroyers of their own daughters: the fifth, the Bhadani, who shave the hair of their head and beards." The disciple after this warning against intercourse with schismatics, is instructed in some general precepts, the observance of which is ordained for the welfare of the community into which he is received. He is told to be civil to all with whom he converses, to endeavour to attain wisdom, and to emulate the persuasive eloquence of Baba Nanac. He is particularly enjoined, whenever he approaches any of the Sikh temples, to do it with reverence, and to go to Amritsar to pay his devotions there, and offer up his vows for the Khalsa, or

state, the interests of which he is directed, on all occasions, to consider paramount to his own. He is directed to labour to increase the prosperity of the town of Amritsar; and is further told, that at every place of worship which he visits, he will be conducted in the right path by the Guru (Guru Govind). He is instructed to believe, that it is the duty of all those who belong to the Khalsa, or commonwealth of the Sikhs, neither to lament the sacrifice of property, nor of life, in support of each other; and he is commanded to read the *Adi-Granth* and *Dasama Padshah ka Granth*, every morning and evening. Whatever he has received from God, he is told it is his duty to share with others; and after the disciple has heard and promised to observe all these and other precepts, he is declared to be duly initiated. By the religious institutions of Guru Govind, proselytes are admitted from all tribes and casts in the universe. The initiation may take place at any time of life, but the children

of the Singhs all go through this rite at a very early age.*

One of the principal tenets of Govind's religious institutions, obliges his followers to practise the use of arms; whereas among the Hindūs, the use of these as a profession, or in any way but self-defence, is prohibited to all but those of Cshatriya, or the military tribe. And notwithstanding the full and unreserved belief of the Sikhs in one only supreme ruler of the universe, there is a chapter in the Dasama Padshah-ka-Granth, or book of the tenth king, in praise of Durga Bhavani, the goddess of courage; and Govind with a view to animate his followers to acts of valour, there relates a pretended dream. "Durga (says he) appeared to me when I was asleep, arrayed in all her glory. The goddess put into my hand a bright scymitar, which she had before held in her own. The country of the Mohammedans, said the goddess, shall

* General Malcolm.

be conquered by thee, and numbers of that race shall be slain. After I had heard this, I exclaimed, this steel shall be the guard to me and my followers, because, in its lustre, the splendour of thy countenance, oh goddess ! is always reflected."*

The temples of the Sikhs are plain buildings, whence images are entirely banished. Their forms of prayer are short and simple. At the hours of worship, part of their sacred writings, which consist of those of Nanac, mixed with those of some of his successors, in what is called the *Adi Granth*, are read. They consist of praises of the divinity, and maxims for the practice of virtue. The *Adi Granth* is in verse, and, like the other books of the Sikhs, is written in the *Gūrūmuk'h* character, a modified species of the *Nagari*. Many of the chapters written by Nanac are named *Pidi*, which literally means a ladder ; metaphorically, that by which a man may ascend.

* Sketch of the Sikhs, by General Malcolm.

In a passage of this work, containing an address to the Supreme Being, it is said,

“ The just celebrate thy praises in profound meditation.

“ The pious declare thy glory.

“ The learned Pandits, and the Rishis-waras, who through ages read the Vedas, recite thy praises.

“ All who know thee, praise thee.

“ He, even He, is the Lord of Truth, and truly just.

“ He is, He was, He passes not. He is the preserver of all that is preserved.

“ Having formed the creation, he surveyed his own work, produced by his greatness.”

It contains precepts for the conduct of man, and inculcates the soundest maxims of morality.

But the Dasama Padshah-ka-Granth, or book of the tenth chief, composed by Guru Govind, is held in as much veneration as the Adi Granth. Though Govind was brought up in the tenets of Nanac, yet having been educated among the Brahmins

at Mathura, he seems to have been tainted with some of their superstitious notions; and hence, as well as from considerations of policy, he shewed more complaisance for their prejudices than Nanac had done. But the sacred book of Guru Govind is not confined to religious subjects; it abounds with accounts of his battles, and of actions performed by the most valiant of his followers. Throughout the work, courage is not only highly extolled, but is considered as an indispensable virtue; and he declares to his followers, that dying in defence of their faith will not only procure the greatest glory that can be obtained in this life, but happiness in a future state. A Sikh author, speaking of Guru Govind and his doctrines, says:

“ By the command of the Eternal, the great Guru disseminated the true knowledge. Full of strength and courage, he successfully established the Khalsa.*—

* The State.

Thus, at once founding the Singhs, he struck the whole world with awe; overturning temples, tombs, and mosques, he levelled them all with the plain; rejecting the Vedas, the Puranas, the six Sastras, and the Korān, he abolished the cry of Namaz,* and slew the Sultāns; reducing the Mirs and Pirs† to silence, he overturned all their sects; the Moullahs and the Kazis‡ were confounded, and found no benefit from their studies. The Brahmins, the Pandits, and the Jotishis§ had acquired a relish for worldly things; they worshipped stones and temples, and forgot the Supreme. Thus these two sects, the Mohammedan and Hindū, remained involved in delusion and ignorance, when the Khalsa originated in purity. When, at the order of Guru Govind, the Singhs

* The Mohammedan prayer.

† The Lords and priests of the Mohammedans.

‡ The priests, and professors of theology; and the judges.

§ Astrologers.

seized and displayed the scymitar, then subduing all their enemies, they meditated on the Eternal; and, as soon as the order of the Most High was manifested in the world, circumcision ceased, and the Moslems trembled when they saw the ritual of Mohammed destroyed: then the Nakara* of victory sounded throughout the world, and fear and dread were abolished."†

* Large kettle-drum, always found established at head-quarters, or places of abode, of princes and commanders.

† The principal authorities for the foregoing account of the Sikhs, are,—1. The Sketch given of them by General Malcolm, frequently referred to by the author, and which he has in several places copied literally. 2. The account of a journey to Europe, through Lahore, Cashmire, and Persia, by Mr. George Forster, to which is added a *Precis sur les Sykes*, by Monsieur Langlès. 3. An account of a tour to Lahore, published in the eleventh volume of the Asiatic Annual Register; and 4. Communications made to the author personally, by Mr. John Stuart, and the late Colonel Polier. The coincidence that appears in the reports given by five different persons, totally unconnected with each other, is a strong proof of the exact-

ness of their accounts. Free from prejudice, they seem to have viewed the virtuous Hindū and Sikh, with as much goodwill as the virtuous Christian; a happy, and indispensable quality in a traveller: for, whoever looks through the medium of prejudice, must be constantly exposed to be led into error.

In the work published by Mr. Ward, at Serampore, which has already been mentioned, there is an article on the Sikhs, containing what is termed “a List of Topics selected from the works of Nanac and four of his successors.”

END OF VOL. I.



RESEARCHES

CONCERNING THE

LAWS, THEOLOGY, LEARNING,

COMMERCE, ETC.

OF

Ancient and Modern India.

BY Q. CRAUFURD, ESQ.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

London :

PRINTED FOR T. CADELL AND W. DAVIES,
STRAND.

1817.

J. M'Creery, Printer,
Black-Horse-Court, London.

CONTENTS OF VOL. II.

CHAPTER VIII.

	Page
<i>On the Astronomy and other Sciences of the Hindūs</i>	1

CHAPTER IX.

<i>Architecture and Ancient Structures of the Hindūs</i>	84
--	----

CHAPTER X.

<i>On the Manners and Customs of the Hindūs</i>	111
---	-----

CHAPTER XI.

<i>On the Languages of India</i>	160
--	-----

CHAPTER XII.

<i>Some account of Ancient Authors who have described India</i>	250
---	-----

CHAPTER XIII.

<i>On the Ancient Commerce and Communications with India by European Nations</i>	263
--	-----

CHAPTER XIV.

<i>Conclusion</i>	318
-----------------------------	-----

APPENDIX

OF

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

	Page
NOTE A.—Hindū Accounts of Sandrocotus, King of the Prasii, and the celebrated Capital of Palibothra	327
B. On the Origin of Casts in India ; toge- ther with an account of the different Classes of Brahmins, and their re- spective Pursuits	336
C. Historical Sketch of the Mahrattas . .	339
D. Additional Remarks on the Astronomy of the Hindūs, by M. Delambre . .	347
E. On some Practices peculiar to the Hin- dūs	353
INDEX	357

*** In reading the Names of Persons and Places, the Vowels are understood to be pronounced as in the Italian Language.*

RESEARCHES

ON

Ancient and Modern India.

CHAPTER VIII.

ON THE ASTRONOMY AND OTHER SCIENCES
OF THE HINDŪS.

THOUGH an accurate inquiry into the Astronomy of the Hindūs, can only be made by such as may have particularly studied that science; we hope, nevertheless, to be excused for offering a few observations on the subject, founded on the opinions of those, whose knowledge in astronomy have obtained for them the high reputation they enjoy in the learned world.

The late Monsieur Bailly, in his *Traité de l'Astronomie Indienne et Orientale*, men-

tions four sets of tables, brought to Europe at different times, from distinct places, and by different persons : one from Siam, by M. de la Loubiere, who was sent thither as ambassador, by Louis the 14th ; two that were found by M. Bailly in the *Depôt de la Marine*, at Paris, which had been placed there by M. de Lisle,* who had received them from the Fathers Patouillet and Duchamp, correspondents of the missionaries in India ; and a fourth, which was brought from the coast of Coromandel, by M. le Gentil, and which he had procured from Brahmins at Tirvalore.†—These four sets of tables and precepts of astronomy, procured, as has been observed, at different times, and distinct places, some of them extremely distant from the others, M. Bailly says, all, evidently, came from the same original ;

* Joseph Nicolas de Lisle, a celebrated astronomer, the friend of Newton and Halley. He was born at Paris in 1688, and died there in 1768.

† A town in N. L. $10^{\circ} 44'$ near to Negapatnam, on the coast of Coromandel.

all have the same motion of the sun, the same duration of the year; and all are adapted to a meridian passing near to Benares :* for instance, the tables brought

* Yet the first meridian of the ancient Hindū astronomers, it is said, was that of Oujein, then called Ujjaini, and sometimes Avanti, in N. L. $23^{\circ} 11' 13''$, and E. Long. from Greenwich, $75^{\circ} 51'$.—The present city is about a mile distant from the site of the ancient town, which above 1800 years ago was buried in the earth, by some extraordinary natural convulsion. Avanti, or Ujjaini, was the magnificent capital of the celebrated Vicramaditya, and one of the principal seats of arts and learning. The traditionary legend of the place imputes its destruction to a *shower of earth from heaven*; and Mr. Hunter, who seems to have carefully examined the spot, observes, that no volcanic conical hills, or traces of volcanic scoriæ are to be found in the neighbourhood of it. It has been suggested that its destruction may have been occasioned by an inundation of the river Sipara, which now washes the southern extremity of the present town. Tradition relates that, at the time of the destruction of the ancient city, this river changed its course; and while Mr. Hunter and his companions were at Oujein, a part of the town, though situated considerably above the level of the river, was overflowed by it: but he nevertheless thinks an earthquake the most probable cause of the destruction of the ancient city, and that the

from Siam, suppose a reduction of one hour and thirteen minutes of time, or eighteen degrees and fifteen minutes of longitude, as so much west from the part of Siam, to which these tables had been adjusted.

The beginning of the Kaly-Yug, or present age of Hindū chronology, adjusted to our computation of time, is reckoned at two hours, twenty-seven minutes, and thirty seconds of the morning of the 16th of February, 3102 years before the Christian

change in the course of the river, admitting the tradition in that respect to be true, must have been the effect of that convulsion. By digging about eighteen feet deep, on the spot where the ancient city stood, walls of buildings are found entire, columns, utensils of various kinds, and ancient coins. Mr. Hunter saw a space of from twelve to fifteen feet long and eight high, filled with earthen vessels. Bricks taken from these ruins, continue to be employed in building; some are of a much larger size than those made in modern times.—The present city is of an oblong form, about six miles in circumference, surrounded by walls of stone, intersected by towers.—See *Narrative of a Journey from Agra to Oujein*, by William Hunter, Esq. *Asiat. Res.* vol. vi. p. 7.

æra ; but the time from which most of their astronomical tables now existing are constructed, is two days, three hours, thirty-two minutes, and thirty seconds, after that, or the 18th of February, about six in the morning.* They say, that there was then a conjunction of the planets. M. Bailly observes, that it appears, Jupiter and Mercury were then in the same degree of the ecliptic ; that Mars was distant about eight degrees, and Saturn seventeen ; hence it results, that at the time of the date given by the Brahmins to the commencement of the Kaly-Yug, they might have seen those four planets successively disengage themselves from the rays of the sun ; first Saturn, then Mars, then Jupiter, and then Mercury ; and though Venus could not have appeared, yet as they only speak in general terms, it was natural enough to say, *there was then a conjunction of the planets* : but M. Bailly is of opinion, that their astronomical

* See *Traité de l'Astronomie Indienne et Orientale*, par Bailly, *Discours Préliminaire*, pp. xxvii, xxviii.

time is dated from an eclipse of the moon, which appears to have happened then, and that the conjunction of the planets is only incidentally mentioned. We are told by some writers, that the circumstance which marked that epoch, was the death of their hero Krishen; who, as we have already observed, was supposed to be the god Vishnu in one of his incarnations; by others, that it was the death of a famous and beloved sovereign, named Yudhishtira; but, whichever of the two it may be, the Hindūs considering the event as a great calamity, distinguished it by beginning a new age, and expressed their feelings by naming it the Kaly-Yug, *the age of unhappiness or misfortune.*

From the tables brought home by M. de la Loubiere, in 1687, it appears that the Indians knew some particulars in the science of astronomy, which were at that time unknown in Europe. Certain motions of the moon contained in them, and which essentially serve to explain her movements, had indeed, been discovered by Tycho Brahe,

who was born in 1546, and died in 1601: but it cannot be supposed that what had been discovered by Brahe, could have been transmitted to Benares, there introduced into the tables, and from thence brought to Siam, during the time that elapsed between the discovery in Europe and the date when M. de la Loubiere procured those tables. Whoever may be acquainted with the state and nature of the communications at that time between India and Europe, and between the interior parts of Hindūstan and Siam, together with the depressed state of the Hindūs under their Mohammedan rulers, and their neglect of science and learning since the conquest of their country by strangers, will instantly reject such an idea. If, therefore, it appear that the Hindūs had a knowledge of certain things in astronomy earlier than the Europeans, that they knew and practised what the Alexandrian and Arabian schools were ignorant of,* it may be asked

* Baily, Professor Playfair, &c. &c.

from what source did they derive their knowledge of them. We can assign no other but that of their own discoveries and observations.

It has been said that the Indian and Arabian divisions of the zodiac were the same. It may very possibly be so: and many who have considered the subject and admit this, are disposed to think, that the Arabians took their divisions from the Hindūs. The learned orientalist, Mr. Colebrooke, who has examined the subject, finds, however, that in some respects they differ from each other; but he is nevertheless of opinion that they must have had one common origin. He says:—"The coincidence appears to me too exact, in most instances, to be the effect of chance: in others, the differences are only such, as to authorize the remark, that the nation, which borrowed from the other, has not copied with servility. I apprehend that it must have been the Arabs who adopted (with slight variations) a division of the zodiac familiar to the Hindūs. This, at

least, seems to be more probable than the supposition, that the Indians received their system from the Arabians: we know, that the Hindūs have preserved the memory of a former situation of the Colures, compared to constellations, which mark divisions of their zodiac in their astronomy; but no similar trace remains of the use of the lunar mansions, as divisions of the zodiac, among the Arabs, in so very remote times.”*

And again, some pages after, he observes:—“ The result of the comparison shews, I hope satisfactorily, that the Indian asterisms, which mark the divisions of the ecliptic, generally consist of nearly the same stars, which constitute the lunar mansions of the Arabians: but, in a few instances, they essentially differ. The Hindūs have likewise adopted the division of the ecliptic and zodiac into twelve signs, or constellations, agreeing in figure and designation with those of the Greeks; and differing

* Asiat. Res. 8vo. vol. ix. p. 324.

merely in the place of the constellations, which are carried, on the Indian sphere, a few degrees further west than on the Grecian. That the Hindūs took the hint of this mode of dividing the ecliptic from the Greeks, is not perhaps altogether improbable: but, if such be the origin of it, they have not implicitly received the arrangement suggested to them, but have reconciled and adapted it to their own ancient distribution of the ecliptic into twenty-seven parts."

" In like manner, they may have either received or given the hint of an armillary sphere as an instrument for astronomical observation; but certainly they have not copied the instrument which was described by Ptolemy; for the construction differs considerably."

" Astrologers also reckon twenty-eight *yogas*, which correspond to the twenty-eight *Nacshatras*, or divisions of the moon's path; varying, however, according to the day of the week. As the Indian almanacks some-

times appropriate a column to the moon's *yoga* for each day, I shall insert in a note a list of these *yogas*, with the rule by which they are determined."

" Another topic, relative to the zodiac, and connected with astrology, remains to be noticed. I allude to the *Dreshcanas* answering to the Decani of European astrologers. The Hindūs, like the Egyptians and Babylonians, from whom that vain science passed to the Greeks and Romans, divide each sign into three parts, and allot to every such part a regent, exercising planetary influence under the particular planet whom he there represents. The description of the thirty-six *Dreshcanas*, is given towards the close of Varahamihira's treatise on the casting of nativities, entitled *Vrihat Jataca*."

But, supposing the Indian astronomy to be indigenous, it is nevertheless possible, that the Greeks, in the course of practice, may in certain things have made improvements, which having been communicated to the Indians, were adopted by them;

though (as Mr. Colebrooke has observed) not implicitly, but reconciling them with what they anciently practised.

Each of the twelve parts, or signs of the Indian zodiac, has its particular name. Each sign contains thirty degrees; but the Hindūs also divide the twelve signs into twenty-seven parts,* which they call *constellations, or places of the moon, reckoned in the twelve signs*; every sign is equal to two constellations and a quarter, each constellation consists of thirteen degrees, twenty minutes, and has its particular name.

“ This division of the zodiac is extremely natural in the infancy of astronomical observation, because the moon completes her circle among the fixed stars nearly in twenty-seven days, and so makes an actual division of that circle into twenty-seven equal parts.

“ These constellations are far from in-

* See *Voyages dans les Mers de l'Inde*, par M. le Gentil. *Astronomie Indienne et Orientale*, par M. Bailly;—and *La Croze*, vol. ii. liv. 6.

cluding all the stars in the zodiac. M. le Gentil observes, that those stars seem to have been selected, which are best adapted for making out, by lines drawn between them, the places of the moon in her progress through the heavens.”*

The date given to the tables brought from Tirvalore, coincides with the famous æra of the Kaly-Yug, that is, with the beginning of the year 3102 before Christ, according to our reckoning: “when the Brahmins there would calculate the place of the sun for a given time, they begin by reducing into days the intervals between that time and the commencement of the Kaly-Yug, multiplying the years by 365 days, 6 hours, 12’ 30”, and taking away 2 days, 3 hours, 32’ 30”, the astronomical epoch having begun that much later than the civil.”†

Monsieur Bailly, treating of the Hindū Tables, makes the following observations: —“ Le mouvement Indien dans ce long

* See Trans. of the R. S. of Edinburgh, vol. ii. p. 140, article by Professor Playfair.

† See Trans of the R. S. of Edinburgh, vol. ii,

intervalle de 4383 ans, ne diffère pas d'une minute de celui de Cassini; il est également conforme à celui des tables de Mayer. Ainsi deux peuples, les Indiens et les Européens, placés aux deux extrémités du monde, et par des institutions peut-être aussi éloignées dans le tems, ont obtenu précisément les mêmes résultats, quant au mouvement de la lune, et une conformité qui ne seroit pas concevable, si elle n'étoit pas fondée sur l'observation, et sur une imitation réciproque de la nature. Remarquons que les quatre tables des Indiens sont toutes les copies d'une même astronomie. On ne peut nier que les tables de Siam, n'existassent en 1687, dans le tems que M. de la Loubiere les rapporta de Siam. A cette époque les tables de Cassini et de Mayer n'existoient pas; les Indiens avoient déjà le mouvement exact que renferment ces tables, et nous ne l'avions pas encore.* Il faut donc convenir que l'ex-

* “ Ceci répond aux savans qui pourroient soupçonner que notre astronomie a été portée dans l'Inde, et com-

actitude de ce mouvement Indien est le

muniquée aux Indiens par nos missionnaires. 1°. L'astronomie Indienne a des formes qui lui sont propres, des formes qui caractérisent l'originalité : si c'étoit notre astronomie que l'on eût traduite, il auroit fallu beaucoup d'art et de science pour déguiser ainsi le largin. 2°. En adoptant le moyen mouvement de la lune, on auroit adopté également l'obliquité de l'écliptique, l'équation du centre du soleil, la durée de l'année ; ces élémens diffèrent absolument des notres, ils sont singulièrement exacts lorsqu'ils appartiennent à l'époque de l'an 3102 ; ils seroient très erronés s'ils avoient été établis dans le siècle dernier. 3°. Enfin nos missionnaires n'ont pu communiquer aux Indiens en 1687 le moyen mouvement de la lune des tables de Cassini, qui n'existoient pas alors, ils ne pouvoient connoître que les moyens mouvemens de Tycho, de Riccioli, de Copernic, de Bouillaud, Kepler, Longomontanus, ou ceux des Tables d'Alphonse. Je vais présenter ici le tableau de ces moyens mouvemens pour 4383 ans et 94 jours.

Tables.	Moy. mouv.	Difference avec les Indiens.
D'Alphonse	9 ^s 7° 2' 47"	— 0 42' 14"
Copernic	9 ^s 6° 2' 13"	— 1° 42' 48"
Tycho	9 ^s 7° 54' 40"	+ 0 9' 39"
Kepler	9 ^s 6° 57' 35"	— 0 47' 26"
Longomontanus . . .	9 ^s 7° 2' 13"	— 0 42' 48"
Bouillaud	9 ^s 6° 48' 8"	— 0 58' 53"
Riccioli	9 ^s 7° 53' 57"	+ 0 8' 56"
Cassini	9 ^s 7° 44' 11"	— 0 0 50"
Indiens	9 ^s 7° 45' 1"	

“ On

fruit de l'observation. Il est exact dans cette durée de 4383 ans, parcequ'il a été pris sur le ciel même ; et si l'observation en a déterminé la fin, elle en a marqué également le commencement. C'est le plus long intervalle qui ait été observé, et dont le souvenir se soit conservé dans les fastes de l'astronomie. Il a son origine dans l'époque de 3102 ans avant J. C. et il est une preuve démonstrative de la réalité de cette époque."*

By some, who are inclined to dispute the authenticity of the date, it has been said that, supposing the places and motions of the heavenly bodies to have been the same,

“ On voit qu'aucun de ces moyens mouvemens, celui de Cassini excepté, ne s'accorde avec le mouvement donné par les Indiens. On n'a donc point emprunté ces moyens mouvemens. Il n'y a de conformité qu'avec le mouvement de Cassini, dont les tables n'existoient pas en 1687. Ce mouvement de la lune appartient donc aux Indiens, et ils n'ont pu l'obtenir que de l'observation.” *Bailly, Astron. Ind. Discours Préliminaire*, pp. xxxvi, xxxvii, note.

* Ibid, p. xxxvi.

3102 years before our æra, as they are at present, the Indians, by calculations made at a much later period, might have discovered, that the conjunction of planets and eclipse of the moon mentioned by them, could have been then observed at Benares: but to be able to do so, implies a more accurate practice in astronomy than the Hindūs seem to possess; for it is evident that their knowledge in science and learning, instead of being improved, has greatly declined from what it appears to have been in the remote ages of their history. And besides, for what purpose should they take such pains?—It may possibly be answered, from the vanity of wishing to prove the superior antiquity of their learning to that of other nations. We confess that the observation, unsupported by other proofs, appears to us unworthy of men of learning, whom we should expect to find resting their arguments on scientific proofs only.

In the Siamese tables, “the motions of the moon are deduced by certain intercalations, from a period of nineteen years, in

which she makes nearly 235 revolutions; and it is curious to find at Siam, the knowledge of that cycle, of which the invention was thought to do so much honour to the Athenian astronomer Meton, and which makes so great a figure in our modern kalendars.”*

“ Cette règle suppose donc, une période de 19 années, semblable à celle de Meton et du nombre d’or; et Dom. Cassini ajoute, que la période Indienne est plus exacte que le cycle ancien du nombre d’or.”†

It is evident that the Hindūs must have known the use of the gnomon at a very remote period. Their religion commands that the four sides of their temples should correspond with the four cardinal points of the heavens; and they are all so constructed.

The rules by which the phœnomena of eclipses are deduced from the places of the

* Playfair, in Trans. of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, vol. ii. p. 144.

† Astronomie Indienne et Orientale, p. 4, 5.

sun and moon, have the most immediate reference to geometry; and of these rules, as found among the Brahmins at Tirvalore, M. le Gentil has given a full account. We have also an account by Father Du Champ of the method of calculation used at Krishnapouram.

“ It is a necessary preparation, in both of these, to find the time of the sun’s continuance above the horizon at the place and the day for which the calculation of an eclipse is made; and the rule by which the Brahmins resolve this problem, is extremely simple and ingenious. At the place for which they calculate, they observe the shadow of a gnomon on the day of the equinox, at noon, when the sun, as they express it, is in the middle of the world. The height of the gnomon is divided into 720 equal parts, in which parts the length of the shadow is also measured. One third of this measure is the number of minutes by which the day, at the end of the first month after the equinox, exceeds twelve hours; four-fifths of this excess is

the increase of the day during the second month; and one-third is the increase of the day during the third month.

“ It is plain that this rule involves the supposition, that when the sun’s declination is given, the same ratio every where exists between the arch which measures the increase of the day at any place, and the tangent of the latitude; for that tangent is the quotient which arises from dividing the length of the shadow by the height of the gnomon. Now, this is not strictly true; for such a ratio only subsists between the chord of the arch, and the tangent above mentioned. The rule is therefore but an approximation towards the truth, as it necessarily supposes the arch in question to be so small as to coincide nearly with its chord. *This supposition holds only for places in low latitudes; and the rule which is founded on it, though it may safely be applied in countries between the tropics, in those which are more remote from the equator, would lead into errors too considerable to escape observation.*

*“ As some of the former rules have served to fix the time, so does this, in some measure, to ascertain the place, of its invention. It is the simplification of a general rule, adapted to the circumstances of the torrid zone, and suggested to the astronomers of Hindūstan by their peculiar situation.”**

The precession of the equinoxes, or motion from west to east of the points where the ecliptic crosses the plane of the earth's equator, is reckoned in their tables at fifty-four seconds of a degree in the year: it is found to be at present only fifty and a third seconds in the year. From this motion of fifty-four seconds, they have evidently formed many of their calculations. They have a cycle or period of sixty years, each of which has its particular name; another of 3,600 years, and one of 24,000. From the annual motion given by them of fifty-four seconds of longitude in the year, fifty-four minutes of longitude make sixty years,

* See Trans. of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, vol. ii. p. 170.

fifty-four degrees 3,600, and the entire revolution of 360 degrees makes their great period, or *annus magnus*, of 24,000 years, which is often mentioned by them.

The point at which the sun is on the 20th or 21st of March, is called, as with us, the vernal equinox; that at which he arrives on the 20th or 21st of September, the autumnal equinox; on both occasions festivals are observed, but at the vernal equinox, with greater joy and ceremony, in order to salute the return of the sun to the northern tropic, and celebrate the commencement of their favourite season, *Visanta*, or the spring.

The Hindūs, whether in matters of accounts or science, make their calculations with a surprising degree of quickness and precision, especially when we consider the methods they sometimes employ. M. le Gentil gives an account of a visit he received, soon after his arrival at Pondicherry, from a Hindū, named Nana Moodoo; who, though not a Brahmin, had found means to learn some of the princi-

ples of astronomy. M. le Gentil, to try the extent of his knowledge, gave him some examples of eclipses to calculate, and amongst others, one of a total eclipse of the moon, of the 23d of December, 1768. Seating himself on the floor, he began his work with a parcel of small shells, named Cowries, which he employed for reckoning instead of the pen; and looking occasionally at a book of palm leaves, that contained his rules, he gave the result of his calculation, with all the different phases of the eclipse, in less than three quarters of an hour; which, on comparing it with an Ephemeris, M. le Gentil found sufficiently exact, to excite his astonishment at the time and manner in which the calculation had been performed. Yet the education of Nana Moodoo, by his own account, must have been very confined; and M. le Gentil remarks, that he seemed entirely unacquainted with the meaning of many terms, being unable to explain them.

De la Croze observes, that, “ their arith-

metical operations are numerous, ingenious, and difficult, but when once learnt, perfectly sure. They apply to them from their early infancy; and they are so much accustomed to calculate sums the most complicated, that they will do almost immediately what Europeans would be a long time in performing. They divide the units into a great number of fractions. It is a study that seems peculiar to them, and which requires much time to acquire. The most frequent division of the unit is into a hundred parts, which is only to be learnt consecutively, as the fractions are different according to the things that are numbered. There are fractions for money, for weights, for measures; in short for every thing that may be brought to arithmetical operations.”*

* He adds: “the same practice undoubtedly existed among the Romans, which may explain some passages of ancient authors, as in Horace, Art. Poet. 325.

*Romani pueri longis rationibus assem
Discunt in partes centum deducere.*

“It may likewise from hence be understood what is

In addition to the preceding remarks, the following passages from the Transac-

meant by two passages in Petronius that have hitherto been obscure. In the first, a father says to a teacher :

Tibi discipulus crescit Cicero meus, jam quatuor partes dicit.

“ In the other, a man says, boastingly,

Partes centum dico : ad æs, ad pondus, ad nummum.

“ I did not venture to give any examples of the calculations of the Indians, though I have many in my possession ; but I have no doubt whatever, that the arithmetic of the Indians was the same as that employed by the Greeks and Romans.”

The common education of the Hindūs consists in reading and arithmetic. In almost every village a school is to be found. The school-house consists of what is called on the coast of Coromandel, a *pandal*, a large room made of timbers and the broad leaves of the palm tree. A boy goes to school about the age of five years. He begins by writing the simple letters with chalk on the floor ; sometimes, with his finger in the sand. The Danish missionary, Mr. Ziegenbalg, who made himself perfectly master of the Malabar, or Tamul language, says that he and his colleague, Mr. Plutchau, began to acquire it by attending the instructions given to children, who learn to read and write at the same time. The boy next learns to pronounce and repeat the letters ; he then proceeds to write compounds

tions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, will materially illustrate the astronomy of the Hindūs.

on leaves of the Talu and Plantain trees, and on paper. After making certain progress in reading and writing, or rather writing and reading, he proceeds to cyphering. In doing this, besides the pen, the Hindūs sometimes calculate, as has been mentioned, with small shells, named Cowries. The school begins early in the morning; at about ten the boys go home to eat; return at the appointed hour, and stay till the evening. The allowance to such masters as are here referred to, when children first go to school, is about a penny, and one day's provisions per month, which, if for the master only, may, probably, be calculated at two-pence. As the boys advance in learning, the wages to the master are increased to four-pence, and as far as eight-pence.*

The pen employed by the Hindūs for writing on paper, is a small reed; on leaves, a pointed iron instrument, or bodkin, with which they may, probably, be said to engrave. The leaves are generally of the palm-tree, and sufficiently thick to receive and preserve the incisure for any length of time, without the risk of its being effaced by usage. Their books consist of a number of those leaves; which, being tied loosely together by a hole pierced at one end, are turned over

* See Ward, on the Religion, Manners, &c. of the Hindūs, vol. iv. p. 224.—The Author's Sketches of the Hindūs, vol. ii. pp. 12, 13.

“The moon’s mean place, for the beginning of the Kaly-Yug (that is, for midnight between the 17th and 18th of February, 3102, A. C. at Benares,) calculated from Mayer’s tables, on the supposition that her motion has always been at the same rate as at the beginning of the present century, is $10^{\circ} 0' 51'' 16''$. But, according to the same astronomer, the moon is subject to a small, but uniform acceleration, such, that her angular motion, in any one age, is $9''$ greater than in the preceding, which, in an interval of 4801 years, must have amounted to $5^{\circ} 45' 44''$. This must be added, to give the real mean place of the moon at the astronomical epoch of the Kaly-Yug, which is, therefore, $10^{\circ} 6' 37'$. Now, the same, by the tables of Tirvalore, is $10^{\circ} 6' 0'$; the difference is less than two-

with facility. Many of those books have been brought to Europe. Epistolary correspondence is maintained on paper. In some parts of India, writings in ink on leaves also, are to be met with.*

* See Sketches of the Hindūs, vol. i. p. 175.

thirds of a degree, which, for so remote a period, and considering the acceleration of the moon's motion, for which no allowance could be made in an Indian calculation, is a degree of accuracy that nothing but actual observation could have produced.

“ To confirm this conclusion, Mr. Bailly computes the place of the moon for the same epoch, by all the tables to which the Indian astronomers can be supposed to have ever had access. He begins with the tables of Ptolemy ; and if, by help of them, we go back from the æra of Nabonassar to the epoch of the Kaly-Yug, taking into account the comparative length of the Egyptian and Indian years, together with the difference of meridians between Alexandria and Tirvalore, we shall find the longitude of the sun, $10^{\circ} 21' 15''$ greater, and that of the moon $11^{\circ} 52' 7''$ greater, than has just been found from the Indian tables. At the same time that this shews how difficult it is to go back, even for a less period than that of 3000 years, in an astronomical computation, it affords a

proof altogether demonstrative, *that the Indian astronomy is not derived from that of Ptolemy.*

“ The tables of Ulugh Beig are more accurate than those of the Egyptian astronomer. They were constructed in a country not far from India, and but a few years earlier than 1491, the epoch of the tables at Krishnapouram. Their date is July the 4th, at noon, 1437, at Samarcand; and yet they do not agree with the Indian tables, even at the above-mentioned epoch of 1491. But for the year 3102 before Christ, their difference from them in the place of the sun, is $1^{\circ} 30'$, and in that of the moon 6° ; which, though much less than the former differences, are sufficient to prove, *that the tables of India are not borrowed from those of Tartary.*

“ The Arabians employed in their tables the mean motions of Ptolemy; the Persians did the same, both in the more ancient tables of Chrysococca, and the later ones of Nassireddin. *It is therefore certain, that the astronomy of the Brahmins is neither*

derived from that of the Greeks, the Arabians, the Persians, or the Tartars. This appeared so clear to Cassini, though he had only examined the tables of Siam, and knew nothing of many of the great points which distinguish the Indian astronomy from that of all other nations, that he gives it as his opinion, that these tables are neither derived from the Persian astronomy of Chrysococca, nor from the Greek astronomy of Ptolemy; the places they give at their epoch to the apogee of the sun and of the moon, and their equation for the sun's centre, being very different from both.*

“A formula † for computing this inequality” (in the moon's motion) “has been given by M. de la Place, which though only an approximation, being derived from theory, is more accurate than that which Mayer deduced entirely from observation; and if it be taken instead of Mayer's, which

* See Trans. of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, vol. ii. p. 155, &c.

† Ibid. p. 160.

last, on account of its simplicity, I have employed in the preceding calculations, it will give a quantity somewhat different, though not such as to affect the general result. It makes the acceleration for 4383 years, dated from the beginning of the Kaly-Yug, to be greater by $17' 39''$ than was found from Mayer's rule; and greater, consequently, by $16' 32''$, than was deduced from the tables of Krishnapouram. It is plain, that this coincidence is still near enough to leave the argument that is founded on it in possession of all its force, and to afford a strong confirmation of the accuracy of the theory, and the authenticity of the tables.

“ That observations made in India when all Europe was barbarous or uninhabited, and investigations into the most subtle effects of gravitation, made in Europe near five thousand years afterwards, should thus come in mutual support of one another, is perhaps the most striking example of the progress and vicissitude of science, which the history of mankind has yet exhibited.

“ This, however, is not the only instance of the same kind that will occur, if, from examining the radical places and mean motions in the Indian astronomy, we proceed to consider some other of its elements; such as, the length of the year, the inequality of the sun’s motion, and the obliquity of the ecliptic, and compare them with the conclusions deduced from the theory of gravity by M. de la Grange. To that geometer, physical astronomy is indebted for one of the most beautiful of its discoveries, viz.—That all the variations in our system are periodical; so that, though every thing, almost without exception, be subject to change, it will, after a certain interval, return to the same state in which it is at present, and leave no room for the introduction of disorder, or of any irregularity that might constantly increase. Many of these periods, however, are of vast duration. A great number of ages, for instance, must elapse, before the year be again exactly of the same length, or the sun’s equation of the same magnitude, as

at present. An astronomy, therefore, which professes to be so ancient as the Indian, ought to differ considerably from ours in many of its elements. If, indeed, these differences are irregular, they are the effects of chance, and must be accounted errors; but if they observe the laws, which theory informs us that the variations in our system do actually observe, they must be held as the most undoubted marks of authenticity.”*

Professor Playfair then proceeds to examine this question, as M. Bailly has done; and we are persuaded, if the reader will *impartially* peruse the investigations of these learned men, he will be satisfied that the differences alluded to, are neither the effects of chance, nor can be accounted errors.

After examining the duration given to the year by the Brahmins at the period of the Kaly-Yug, Mr. Playfair proceeds:

“The equation of the sun’s centre is an

* See Trans. of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, vol. ii. p. 160, &c.

element in the Indian astronomy, which has a more unequivocal appearance of *belonging to an earlier period than the Kaly-Yug.** The maximum of *that equation is fixed, in these tables, at $2^{\circ} 10' 32''$* . It is at present, according to M. de la Caille, $1^{\circ} 55' \frac{1}{2}$, that is $15'$ less than with the Brahmins. Now, M. de la Grange has shewn, that the sun's equation, together with the eccentricity of the earth's orbit, on which it depends, is subject to alternate diminution and increase, and accordingly has been diminishing for many ages. In the year 3102 before our æra, that equation was $2^{\circ} 6' 28'' \frac{1}{2}$ less only by $4'$, than in the tables of the Brahmins. But, if we suppose the Indian astronomy to be founded on observations that preceded the Kaly-Yug, the determination of this equation will be found to be still more exact. Twelve hundred

* M. Bailly, in his remarks on the length of the years, supposes some of the observations of the Brahmins to have been made during a period often mentioned by them, of 2,400 years before the Kaly-Yug.

years before the commencement of that period, or about 4300 before our æra, it appears, by computing from M. de la Grange's formula, that the equation of the sun's centre was actually $2^{\circ} 8' 16''$; so that if the Indian astronomy be as old as that period, its error with respect to its equation is but $2'$.*

“ The obliquity of the ecliptic is another element in which the Indian astronomy and the European do not agree, but where their difference is exactly such as the high antiquity of the former is found to require. The Brahmins make the obliquity of the ecliptic 24° . Now M. de la Grange's formula for the variation of the obliquity, gives $22' 32''$, to be added to its obliquity in 1700, that is, to $23^{\circ} 28' 41''$, in order to have that which took place in the year 3102 before our æra. This gives us $23^{\circ} 51' 13''$, which is $8' 47''$ short of the determination of the Indian astronomers. But if we sup-

* See Trans. of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, vol. ii. p. 163.

pose, as in the case of the sun's equation, that the observations on which this determination is founded, were made 1200 years before the Kaly-Yug, we shall find that the obliquity of the ecliptic was $23^{\circ} 57' 45''$, and that the error of the tables did not much exceed 2'.

“ Thus do the measures, which the Brahmins assign to these three quantities, the length of the tropical year, the equation of the sun's centre, and the obliquity of the ecliptic, all agree, in referring the epoch of their determination to the year 3102 before our æra, *or to a period still more ancient.* This coincidence in three elements, altogether independent of one another, cannot be the effect of chance. The difference, with respect to each of them, between their astronomy and ours, might singly, perhaps, be ascribed to inaccuracy; but that three errors, which chance had introduced, should be all of such magnitude as to suit exactly the same hypothesis concerning their origin, is hardly to be conceived. Yet there is no other alterna-

tive, but to admit this very improbable supposition, or to acknowledge that the Indian astronomy is as ancient as one or other of the periods abovementioned.

“ In seeking for the cause of the secular equations, which modern astronomers have found it necessary to apply to the mean motion of Jupiter and Saturn, M. de la Place has discovered, that there are inequalities belonging to both these planets, arising from their mutual action on one another, which have long periods, one of them no less than 877 years; so that the mean motion must appear different, if it be determined from observations made in different parts of those periods. ‘ *Now I find*’ (says he) ‘ *by my theory, that at the Indian epoch of 3102 years before Christ, the apparent and annual mean motion of Saturn was $12^{\circ} 13' 14''$, and the Indian tables make it $12^{\circ} 13' 13''$. In like manner, I find that the annual and apparent mean motion of Jupiter at that epoch, was $30^{\circ} 20' 42''$, precisely as in the Indian astronomy.*’

“ Thus have we enumerated no less than

nine astronomical elements,* to which the tables of India assign such values as do by no means belong to them in these later ages, but such as the theory of gravity proves to have belonged to them three thousand years before the Christian æra. At that time, therefore, or *in the ages preceding it*, the observations must have been made from which these elements were deduced. For it is abundantly evident, that the Brahmins of later times, however willing they might be to adapt their tables to so remarkable an epoch as the Kaly-Yug, could never think of doing so, by substituting, instead of quantities which they had observed, others which they had no reason to believe had ever existed. The elements in question are precisely what these astronomers must have sup-

* “The inequality or the precession of the equinoxes; the acceleration of the moon; the length of the solar year; the equation of the sun’s centre; the obliquity of the ecliptic; the place of Jupiter’s aphelion; the equation of Saturn’s centre; and the inequalities in the mean motion of both these planets.”

posed invariable, and of which, had they supposed them to change, they had no rules to guide them for ascertaining the variations; since to the discovery of these rules is required, not only all the perfection to which astronomy is at this day brought in Europe, but all that which the sciences of motion and of extension have likewise attained. It is equally clear that these coincidences are not the work of accident; for it will scarcely be supposed that chance has adjusted the errors of the Indian astronomy with such singular felicity, that observers, who could not discover the true state of the heavens, at the age in which they lived, have succeeded in describing one which took place several thousand years before they were born.*

“ The preceding calculations must have required the assistance of many subsidiary tables,—of which no trace has yet been

* See Trans. of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, vol. ii. pp. 169, 170.

found in India,—besides many other geometrical propositions. Some of them also involve the ratio which the diameter of a circle was supposed to bear to its circumference, but which we should find it impossible to discover from them exactly, on account of the small quantities that may have been neglected in their calculations. Fortunately, we can arrive at this knowledge, which is very material when the progress of geometry is to be estimated, from a passage in the *Ayin Akbery*, where we are told that the Hindūs suppose the diameter of a circle to be to its circumference, as 1250 to 3927; and where the author, *who believed it to be perfectly exact*, expresses his astonishment, that among so simple a people, there should be found a truth, which among the wisest and most learned nations had been sought for in vain.

“ The proportion of 1250 to 3927, is indeed a nearer approach to the quadrature of the circle; it differs little from that

of Metius,* 113 to 355, and is the same with one equally well known, that of 1 to 3.1416. When found in the simplest and most elementary way, it requires a polygon of 768 sides to be inscribed in a circle; an operation which cannot be arithmetically performed without the knowledge of some very curious properties of that curve, and at least nine extractions of the square root, each as far as ten places of decimals. All this must have been accomplished in India; for, it is to be observed, that the above-mentioned proportion cannot have been received from the mathematicians of the west. The Greeks left nothing on this subject more accurate than the theory of Archimedes; and the Arabian mathematicians seem not to have attempted any nearer approximation. The geometry of modern Europe can much less be regarded as the source of this knowledge. Metius

* Adrian Metius, native of Alkmaar, in Holland. The discovery of spying glasses is attributed to his brother, James Metius.

and Vieta* were the first, who, in the quadrature of the circle, surpassed the accuracy of Archimedes; they flourished at the very time when the Institutes of Akber were collected in India.†

“ On the grounds which have now been explained, the following general conclusions appear to be established.

“ 1st. The observations on which the astronomy of India is founded, were made more than three thousand years before the Christian æra; and, in particular, the places of the sun and moon, at the beginning of the Kaly-Yug, were determined by actual observation.

“ This follows from the exact argument of the radical places in the tables of Tirvallore, with those deduced for the same epoch from the tables of De la Caille and Mayer, and especially in the case of the

* Francis Vieta was a native of Fontenai in Poitou. He was born in 1540, and died in 1603.

† See Trans. of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, vol. ii. p. 185.

moon, when regard is had to her acceleration. It follows, too, from the position of the fixed stars in respect of the equinox, as represented in the Indian zodiac; from the length of the solar year, and lastly from the position and form of the orbits of Jupiter and Saturn, as well as their mean motions; in all of which, the tables of the Brahmins, compared with ours, give the quantity of the change that has taken place, just equal to that which the action of the planets on one another may be shewn to have produced, in the space of forty-eight centuries, reckoned back from the beginning of the present.

“ Two other of the elements of this astronomy, the equation of the sun’s centre, and the obliquity of the ecliptic, when compared with those of the present time, seem to point to a period still more remote, and to fix the origin of this astronomy 1000 or 1200 years earlier; that is 4300 years before the Christian æra:* and the

* That they point to a period more remote than the beginning of the Kaly-Yug, we believe, cannot be de-

time necessary to have brought the arts of calculating and observing to such perfection as they must have attained at the beginning of the Kaly-Yug, comes in support of the same conclusion.

“Of such high antiquity, therefore, must we suppose the origin of this astronomy, unless we can believe, that all the coincidences which have been enumerated are but the effects of chance; or, what, indeed, were still more wonderful, that, some years ago, there had arisen a Newton among the Brahmins, to discover that universal principle, which connects, not only the most

nied, but we hope to be excused in saying, that there does not appear to be any reason for dating the *origin* of the Indian astronomy, at 1000 or 1200 years before that. Perhaps it should rather be said, that the Brahmins, 4300 years before the Christian æra, must have been in possession of such or such parts of their astronomy. It is possible that materials may yet be found, to enable Mr. Playfair to carry his researches still farther back into antiquity; but, probably, never to ascertain the origin of a science, which was not delivered ready written, like a book of laws, but progressively carried on and improved, through the course of numerous succeeding ages.

distant regions of space, but the most remote periods of duration; and a De la Grange, to trace, through the immensity of both, its most subtle and complicated operations.

“ 2dly. Though the astronomy that is now in the hands of the Brahmins is so ancient in its origin, yet it contains many rules and tables that are of later construction.

“ The first operation for computing the moon’s place from the tables of Tirvalore, requires that 1,600,984 days should be subtracted from the time that has elapsed since the beginning of the Kaly-Yug, which brings down the date of the rule to the year 1282 of our æra. At this time, too, the place of the moon, and of her apogee, are determined with so much exactness, that it must have been done by observation, either at the instant referred to, or a few days before or after it. At this time, therefore, it is certain, that astronomical observations were made in India, and that the Brahmins were not, as they are now, without any know-

ledge of the principles on which their rules were founded. When that knowledge was lost, will not, perhaps, be easily ascertained;* but there are, I think, no circumstances in the tables, from which we can certainly infer the existence of it at a later period than what has just been mentioned; for though there are more modern epochs to be found in them, they are such as may have been derived from the most ancient of all, by help of the mean motions in the tables of Krishnapouram, without any other skill than is required to an ordinary calculation. Of these epochs, besides what have been occasionally mentioned in the course of our remarks, there is one involved in the tables of Narsapour, as late as the year 1656, and another as early as the year 78 of our æra, which remarks the death of Salivahana, one of their princes, in whose reign

* It appears to have been lost since the conquest of their country by strangers; from the want of protection and encouragement, and the effects of persecution and violence. The date seems to prove this.

a reform is said to have taken place in the methods of their astronomy. There is no reference to any intermediate date from that time to the beginning of the Kaly-Yug.

“ The parts of this astronomy, therefore, are not all of the same antiquity ; nor can we judge, merely from the epoch to which the tables refer, of the age to which they were originally adapted. We have seen that the tables of Krishnapouram, though they profess to be no older than the year 1491 of our æra, are in reality more ancient than the tables of Tirvalore, which are dated from the Kaly-Yug, or at least have undergone fewer alterations. This we concluded from the slow motion given to the moon in the former of these tables, which agreed, with such wonderful precision, with the secular equation applied to that planet by Mayer, and explained by M. de la Place.” But the date affixed to the tables at Krishnapouram, coinciding with the year 1491 of our æra, is merely, I presume, the date when the tables were copied there, whereas

those at Tirvalore, are literally taken from the original tables, omitting the date of the copy.

“ The Brahmins constantly refer to an astronomy at Benares, which they emphatically style *the ancient*, and which, they say, is not now understood by them, though they believe it to be much more accurate than that by which they now calculate. That it is more accurate, is improbable; that it may be more ancient, no one who has duly attended to the foregoing facts and reasonings, will think impossible; and every one, I believe, will acknowledge, that no greater service could be rendered to the learned world, than to rescue this precious fragment from obscurity.”—“ The discoveries that may be made on this science, do not interest merely the astronomer and mathematician, but every one who delights to mark the progress of mankind, or is curious to look back to the ancient inhabitants of the globe. It is through the medium of astronomy alone, that a few rays from those distant objects can be conveyed in

safety to the eye of a modern observer, so as to afford him a light, which, though it be scanty, is pure and unbroken, and free from the false colourings of vanity and superstition.

“ 3dly. The basis of the four systems of astronomical tables we have examined, is evidently the same.

“ Though these tables are scattered over an extensive country, they seem to have been all originally adapted to the same meridian, or to meridians at no great distance, which traverse what we may call the classical ground of India, marked by the ruins of Canoge, Palibothra, and Benares. *They contain rules that have originated between the tropics*; whatever be their epoch, they are all, by their mean motions, connected with that of the Kaly-Yug; and they have besides one uniform character, which it is perhaps not easy to describe. Great ingenuity has been exerted to simplify their rules, yet in no instance, almost, are they reduced to the utmost simplicity: and when it happens that the operations to

which they lead are extremely obvious, these are often involved in an artificial obscurity. A Brahmin frequently multiplies by a greater number than is necessary, where he seems to gain nothing but the trouble of dividing by one that is greater in the same proportion; and he calculates the æra of Salivaganam, with the formality of as many distinct operations, as if he were going to determine the moon's motion since the beginning of the Kaly-Yug. The same spirit of exclusion, the same fear of communicating his knowledge, seems to direct the *calculus*, which pervades the religion of the Brahmin; and in neither of them is he willing to receive or impart instruction. With all these circumstances of resemblance, the methods of their astronomy are as much diversified as we can suppose the same system to be, by passing through the hands of a succession of ingenious men, fertile in resources, and acquainted with the variety and extent of the science which they cultivated.—A system of knowledge which is thus assimilated to

the genius of the people, that is diffused so widely among them, and diversified so much, has a right to be regarded, either as a native, or a very ancient inhabitant of the country where it is found.

“ 4thly. The construction of these tables implies a great knowledge of geometry, arithmetic, and even of the theoretical part of astronomy, &c.

“ But what, without doubt, is to be accounted the greatest refinement, is the hypothesis employed in calculating the equations of the centre for the sun, moon, and planets; viz. that, of a circular orbit having a double eccentricity, or having its centre in the middle, between the earth and the point about which the angular motion is uniform. If to this we add the great extent of geometrical knowledge requisite to combine this and the other principles of their astronomy together, and to deduce from them the just conclusions, the possession of a calculus equivalent to trigonometry, and lastly, their approximation to the quadrature of the circle; we shall be as-

tonished at the magnitude of that body of science, which must have enlightened the inhabitants of India in some remote age; and which, whatever it may have communicated to the western nations, appears to have received nothing from them."

Professor Playfair examines the construction of the tables contained in Brahminical trigonometry. After mentioning the circumference and division of the circle, he proceeds: "The next thing to be mentioned, is also a matter of arbitrary arrangement, but one in which the Brahmins follow a method peculiar to themselves. They express the radius of the circle in parts of the circumference, and suppose it equal to 3,438 minutes, or 60ths of a degree. In this they are quite singular. Ptolemy, and the Greek mathematicians, after dividing the circumference, as we have already described, supposed the radius to be divided into sixty equal parts, without seeking to ascertain, in this division, any thing of the relation of the diameter to the circumference: and thus, throughout the whole

of their tables, the chords are expressed in sexagesimals of the radius, and the arches in sexagesimals of the circumference. They had therefore two measures, and two units ; one for the circumference, and another for the diameter. The Hindū mathematicians, again, have but one measure and one unit for both, viz. a minute of a degree, or one of those parts whereof the circumference contains 21,600. From this identity of measures, they derive no inconsiderable advantage in many calculations, though it must be confessed, that the measuring of a straight line, the radius, or diameter of a circle, by parts of a curve line, namely, the circumference, is a refinement not at all obvious, and has probably been suggested to them by some very particular view, which they have taken, of the nature and properties of the circle. As to the accuracy of the measure here assigned to the radius, viz. 3,438 of the parts of which the circumference contains 21,600, it is as great as can be attained, without taking in smaller divisions than minutes, or 60ths of a de-

gree. It is true to the nearest minute, and this is all the exactness aimed at in these trigonometrical tables. It must not however be supposed, that the author of them meant to assert, that the circumference is to the radius, either accurately or even very nearly, as 21,600 to 3,438. I have shewn, in another place, from the Institutes of Akber,* that the Brahmins knew the ratio of the diameter to the circumference to great exactness, and supposed it to be that of 1 to 3.1416, which is much nearer than the preceding. Calculating, as we may suppose, by this or some other proportion, not less exact, the authors of the tables found, that the radius contained in truth 3437' 44" 48"', &c.; and as the fraction of a minute is here more than a half, they took, as their constant custom is, the integer next above, and called the radius 3438 minutes. The method by which they came to such an accurate knowledge of the ratio of the dia-

* Ayeen Akbery.

meter to the circumference, may have been founded on the same theorems which were subservient to the construction of their trigonometrical tables."

" These tables are two, the one of sines, and the other of versed sines. The sine of an arch they call *cramajya*, or *jvapinda*, and the versed sine *utcramajya*. They also make use of the cosine or *bhujajya*. These terms seem all to be derived from the word *jya*, which signifies the chord of an arch, from which the name of the radius, or sine of 90° , viz. *trijya*, is also taken. This regularity in their trigonometrical language, is a circumstance not unworthy of remark. But what is of more consequence to be observed, is, that the use of sines, as it was unknown to the Greeks, who calculated by help of the chords, forms a striking difference between the Indian trigonometry and theirs. The use of the sine, instead of the chord, is an improvement which our modern trigonometry owes, as we have hitherto been taught to believe, to the Arabs. But whether the Arabs are the

authors of this invention, or whether they themselves received it, as they did the numerical characters, from India, is a question, which a more perfect knowledge of Hindū literature will probably enable us to resolve."

" No mention is made in this trigonometry, of tangents or secants : a circumstance not wonderful, when we consider that the use of these was introduced in Europe no longer ago than the middle of the sixteenth century. It is, on the other hand, not a little singular, that we should find a table of versed sines in the *Surya Siddhanta* ; for neither the Greek nor the Arabian mathematicians, had any such."

After giving an ample explanation of the tables, and the mode of calculating by them, Mr. Playfair says : " Now, it is worth remarking, that this property of the table of sines, which has been so long known in the east, was not observed by the mathematicians of Europe till about two hundred years ago. The theorem, indeed, concerning the circle, from which it is deduced,

under one shape or another, has been known from an early period, and may be traced up to the writings of Euclid, where a proposition nearly related to it forms the 95th of the *Data*: *If a straight line be drawn within a circle given in magnitude, cutting off a segment containing a given angle, and if the angle in the segment be bisected by a straight line produced till it meet the circumference; the straight lines, which contain the given angle, shall both of them together have a given ratio to the straight line which bisects the angle.* This is not precisely the same with the theorem which has been shewn to be the foundation of the Hindū rule, but differs from it only by affirming a certain relation to hold among the chords of arches, which the other affirms to hold of their sines. It is given by Euclid as useful for the construction of geometrical problems; and trigonometry being then unknown, he probably did not think of any other application of it. But what may seem extraordinary is, that when, about 400 years after-

wards, Ptolemy, the astronomer, constructed a set of trigonometrical tables, he never considered Euclid's theorem, though he was probably not ignorant of it, as having any connexion with the matter he had in hand. He therefore founded his calculations on another proposition, containing a property of quadrilateral figures inscribed in a circle, which he seems to have investigated on purpose, and which is still distinguished by his name. This proposition comprehends in fact Euclid's, and of course the Hindū theorem as a particular case; and though this case would have been the most useful to Ptolemy, of all others, it appears to have escaped his observation; on which account he did not perceive that every number in his tables might be calculated from the two preceding numbers, by an operation extremely simple, and every where the same; and therefore his method of constructing them is infinitely more operose and complicated than it needed to have been."

"Not only did this escape Ptolemy,

but it remained unnoticed by the mathematicians, both Europeans and Arabians, who came after him, though they applied the force of their minds to nothing more than to trigonometry, and actually enriched that science by a great number of valuable discoveries. They continued to construct their tables by the same methods which Ptolemy had employed, till about the end of the sixteenth century, when the theorem in question, or that on which the Hindū rule is founded, was discovered by Vieta. We are however ignorant by what train of reasoning that excellent geometer discovered it; for though it is published in his *Treatise on Angular Sections*, it appears there not with his own demonstration, but with one given by an ingenious mathematician of our own country, Alexander Anderson, of Aberdeen. It was then regarded as a theorem entirely new, and I know not that any of the geometers of that age remarked its affinity to the propositions of Euclid and Ptolemy. It was soon after applied in Europe, as it had been so many ages before in Hin-

dūstān, and quickly gave to the construction of the trigonometrical canon all the simplicity which it seems capable of attaining. From all this, I think it might fairly be concluded, even if we had no knowledge of the antiquity of the Surya Siddhanta, that the trigonometry contained in it is not borrowed from Greece or Arabia, as its fundamental rule was unknown to the geometers of both these countries, and is greatly preferable to that which they employed."

" If we were not already acquainted with the high antiquity of the astronomy of Hindūstān, nothing could appear more singular, than to find a system of trigonometry, so perfect in its principles, in a book so ancient as the Surya Siddhanta. The antiquity of that book, the oldest of the Sastras, can scarce be accounted less than 2000 years before our æra, even if we follow the very moderate system of Indian chronology laid down by Sir William Jones. Now, if we suppose its antiquity to be no higher than this, though it bears

in itself internal marks of an age still more remote, yet it will sufficiently excite our wonder, to find it contain the principles of a science, of which the first rudiments are not older in Greece than 130 years before our æra. The bare existence of trigonometrical tables, though they belong undoubtedly to a very elementary branch of science, yet argues a state of greater advancement in the mathematics than may at first be imagined, and necessarily supposes the application of geometrical reasoning to some of the more difficult problems of astronomy and geography.”

“As we cannot suppose the art of trigonometrical calculation to have been introduced till after a long preparation of other acquisitions, both geometrical and astronomical, we must reckon far back from the date of the *Surya Siddhanta*, before we can arrive at the origin of the mathematical sciences in India. In Greece, the constellations were first represented on the sphere, if we take a medium between the chronology of Newton, and that which is now

generally received, about 1140 years before the Christian æra; and Hipparchus invented trigonometry 130 years before the same æra.* Even among the Greeks, therefore, an interval of at least 1000 years elapsed from the first observations in astronomy, to the invention of trigonometry; and we have surely no reason to suppose, that the progress of knowledge has been more rapid in other countries."

M. de la Place in his *Exposition du Système du Monde*, observes:†

"Les tables Indiennes ont deux époques principales qui remontent; l'une à l'année 3102 avant notre ère, l'autre à 1491. Ces époques sont liées par les mouvemens du soleil, de la lune, et des planètes, de manière qu'en partant de la position que les tables Indiennes assignent à tous ces astres à la seconde époque, et remontant à la première au moyen de ces Tables, on

* Hipparchus, sometimes named Rhodius, was born at Nicæa in Bythia, in Asia Minor, about 160 years B. C.

† Liv. v. Chap. i.

trouve la conjonction générale qu'elles supposent à cette époque. Le savant célèbre dont je viens de parler, Bailli, a cherché à établir, dans son *Traité de l'Astronomie Indienne*, que cette première époque étoit fondée sur les observations. Malgré ses preuves exposées avec la clarté qu'il a su répandre sur les matières les plus abstraites, je regarde comme très-vraisemblable qu'elle a été imaginée pour donner dans le zodiaque une commune origine aux mouvemens des corps célestes. Nos dernières Tables astronomiques, considérablement perfectionnées par la comparaison de la théorie avec un grand nombre d'observations très précises, ne permettent pas d'admettre la conjonction supposée dans les Tables Indiennes : elles offrent même à cet égard, des différences beaucoup plus grandes que les erreurs dont elles sont encore susceptibles. A la vérité, quelques élémens de l'Astronomie des Indiens, n'ont pu avoir la grandeur qu'ils leur assignent, que longtemps avant notre ère : il faut, par exemple, remonter jusqu'à six mille ans,

pour retrouver leur équation du centre du soleil. Mais indépendamment des erreurs de leurs déterminations, on doit observer qu'ils n'ont considéré les inégalités du soleil et de la lune, que relativement aux éclipses dans lesquelles l'équation annuelle de la lune s'ajoute à l'équation du centre du soleil, et l'augmente d'une quantité à peu près égale à la différence de sa véritable valeur, à celle des Indiens. Plusieurs élémens, tels que les équations du centre de Jupiter et de Mars, sont très-différens dans les Tables Indiennes, de ce qu'ils devoient être à leur première époque : l'ensemble de ces Tables, et surtout l'impossibilité de la conjonction générale qu'elles supposent, prouvent qu'elles ont été construites, ou *du moins rectifiées* dans des temps modernes. C'est ce qui résulte encore des moyens mouvemens qu'elles assignent à la lune par rapport à son périégée, à ses nœuds et au soleil, et qui plus rapides que suivant Ptolémée, indiquent qu'elles sont postérieures à cet astronome ; car on a vu que ces trois mouvemens s'accélérent

de siècle en siècle. Cependant, l'antique réputation des Indiens ne permet pas de douter qu'ils aient dans tous les temps cultivé l'astronomie. Lorsque les Grecs et les Arabes commencèrent à se livrer aux sciences, ils allèrent en puiser chez eux les premiers élémens. C'est de l'Inde que nous vient l'ingénieuse méthode d'exprimer tous les nombres avec dix caractères, en leur donnant à-la-fois une valeur absolue et une valeur de position ; idée fine et importante, qui nous paroît maintenant si simple, que nous en sentons à peine le mérite. Mais cette simplicité même, et l'extrême facilité qui en résulte pour tous les calculs, placent notre système d'arithmétique au premier rang des inventions utiles ; et l'on appréciera la difficulté d'y parvenir, si l'on considère qu'il a échappé au génie d'Archimede et d'Apollonius, deux des plus grands hommes dont l'antiquité s'honore."

The learned author examines the subject with candour and temper. We have only quoted what we thought immediately referred to our subject. He says, that late astronomical tables, more perfect than those

formerly used, do not allow the admission of the general conjunction of planets supposed to have been observed at the epoch of the beginning of the Kaly-Yug, answering to our 18th of February 3102 years before the Christian æra. The tables here referred to, we presume, did not exist at the time M. Bailly wrote; but M. Bailly only supposes that a conjunction of *some* of the planets from their position in the ecliptic, might have been then noticed at Benares; and he observes that this apparent conjunction is only mentioned by the way, and merely in general terms; and he thinks that the principal astronomical event, at that epoch, was an eclipse of the moon, which M. de la Place has omitted to notice. Though he exposes the defectiveness of the Indian astronomy in some particulars, and though what we shall term their early astronomy might have been afterwards and at different times improved during their intercourse with strangers, M. de la Place nevertheless allows, that the knowledge of

the Indians in science and philosophy, was anterior to that of the Greeks and Arabs.*

Mr. Colebrooke, in his Essay on the Vedas, or sacred writings of the Hindūs, observes, that they abound in every branch of science, and that in them are to be found almost all their system of astronomy. Speaking of their authenticity, he says :

* See Exposition du Système du Monde, p. 330, and the examination of it in the Edinburgh Review, vol. xv. On the passage we have quoted, the Reviewers observe : (p. 414.)—"The fifth book treats of the history of Astronomy. It is hardly necessary to say, that, in the short sketch of that history here presented us, we every where perceive the same masterly hand, and the same comprehensive mind, that we have had so much reason to admire in the more difficult parts of the work. We shall give one extract, which we think ourselves the more bound to lay before our readers, that it is considerably adverse to some opinions on the same subject, which we stated in a former number of this journal. It is not our wish so much to support any particular system on this subject, as to collect the evidence on opposite sides of the question."—They then enter into the subject, and conclude by adhering to the opinions formerly given by them in regard to the Indian astronomy, and its priority to every other, of which we have any knowledge.

“Entertaining no doubts concerning the genuineness of the other works, which have been here described, I think it, nevertheless, proper to state some of the reasons on which my belief of their authenticity is founded. It appears necessary to do so, since a late author has abruptly pronounced the Vedas to be forgeries.”*

“It has been already mentioned, that the practice of reading the principal Vedas in superstitious modes, tends to preserve the genuine text. Copies, prepared for such modes of recital, are spread in various parts of India, especially Benares, Jeyenagar, and the banks of the Godaveri. Interpolations and forgeries have become impracticable since this usage has been introduced: and the Rigveda, and both the Yajushes, belonging to the several Sachas, in which that custom has been adopted, have been therefore long safe from alteration.”

* Mr. Pinkerton, in his *Modern Geography*.

“ The explanatory table of contents, belonging to the several Vedas, also tends to insure the purity of the text ; since the subject and length of each passage are therein specified. The index, again, is itself secured from alteration by more than one exposition of its meaning, in the form of a perpetual commentary.

“ It is a received and well grounded opinion of the learned in India, that no book is altogether safe from changes and interpolations until it has been commented : but when once a gloss has been published, no fabrication would afterwards succeed ; because the perpetual commentary notices every passage, and, in general, explains every word.

“ Commentaries on the Vedas themselves exist, which testify the authenticity of the text. Some are stated to have been composed in early times : I shall not, however, rely on any but those to which I can with certainty refer. I have fragments of Uvata's gloss ; the greatest part of Sayana's on several Vedas ; and a complete one by Ma-

hidhara on a single Veda. I also possess nearly the whole of Sancara's commentary on the Upanishads; and a part of Gaudapada's; with others, by different authors of less note.

“ The genuineness of the commentaries, again, is secured by a crowd of annotators, whose works expound every passage in the original gloss; and whose annotations are again interpreted by others. This observation is particularly applicable to the most important parts of the Vedas, which, as is natural, are the most studiously and elaborately explained.

“ The Niructa, with its copious commentaries on the obsolete words and passages of scripture, further authenticates the accuracy of the text, as there explained. The references and quotations in those works, agree with the text of the Vedas, as we now find it.

“ The grammar of the Sanscrit language contains rules applicable to the anomalies of the ancient dialect. The many and voluminous commentaries on that, and on

other parts of the grammar, abound in examples cited from the Vedas : and here, also, the present text is consonant to those ancient quotations.

“ Philosophical works, especially the numerous commentaries on the aphorisms of the Mimansa and Vedanta, illustrate and support every position advanced in them, by ample quotations from the Vedas. The object of the Mimansa is to establish the cogency of precepts contained in scripture, and to furnish maxims for its interpretation; and, for the same purpose, rules of reasoning, from which a system of logic is deducible. The object of the Vedanta is to illustrate the system of mystical theology taught by the supposed revelation, and to shew its application to the enthusiastic pursuit of unimpassioned perfection and mystical intercourse with the divinity. Both are closely connected with the Vedas : and here, likewise, the authenticity of the text is supported by ancient references and citations.

“ Numerous collections of aphorisms,

by ancient authors,* on religious ceremonies, contain, in every line, references to passages of the Vedas. Commentaries on these aphorisms cite the passages at greater length. Separate treatises also interpret the prayers used at divers ceremonies. Rituals, some ancient, others modern, contain a full detail of the ceremonial, with all the prayers which are to be recited at the various religious rites for which they are formed. Such rituals are extant, not only for ceremonies which are constantly observed, but for others which are rarely practised; and even for such as have been long since disused. In all, the passages taken

* “The Sutras of Aswalayana, Sanchyayana, Baudhayana, Catyayana, Latayana, Gobhila, Apastamba, &c.

“These, appertaining to various Sachas of the Vedas, constitute the calpa, or system of religious observances. I have here enumerated a few only. The list might be much enlarged, from my own collection; and still more so, from quotations by various compilers; for the original works, and their commentaries, as well as compilations from them, are very numerous.”

from the Vedas agree with the text of the general compilation.

“ The Indian legislators, with their commentators, and the copious digests and compilations from their works, frequently refer to the Vedas; especially on those points of the law which concern religion. Here also the references are consistent with the present text of the Indian scripture.

“ Writers on ethics sometimes draw from the Vedas illustrations of moral maxims; and quote from their holy writ passages at full length, in support of ethical precepts. These quotations are found to agree with the received text of the sacred books.

“ Citations from the Indian scripture occur in every branch of literature, studied by orthodox Hindūs. Astronomy, so far as it relates to the calendar, has frequent occasion for reference to the Vedas. Medical writers sometimes cite them; and even annotators on profane poets occasionally refer to this authority, in explaining

passages which contain allusions to the sacred text.

“ Even the writings of the heretical sects exhibit quotations from the Vedas. I have met with such in the books of the Jainas, unattended by any indication of their doubting the genuineness of the original, though they do not receive its doctrines, nor acknowledge its cogency.

“ In all these branches of Indian literature, while perusing or consulting the works of various authors, I have found perpetual references to the Vedas, and have frequently verified the quotations. On this ground I defend the authentic text of the Indian scripture, as it is now extant ; and although the passages which I have so verified are few, compared with the great volume of the Vedas, yet I have sufficient grounds to argue, that no skill in the nefarious arts of forgery and falsification, could be equal to the arduous task of fabricating large works, to agree with the very numerous citations, pervading thousands of volumes, composed on divers sub-

jects, in every branch of literature, and dispersed through the various nations of Hindūs inhabiting Hindūstān and the Dekhin.”*

“ It is necessary in this country, as every where else, to be guarded against literary impositions. But doubt and suspicion should not be carried to an extreme length. Some fabricated works, some interpolated passages, will be detected by the sagacity of critics in the progress of researches into the learning of the East ; but the greatest part of the books received by the learned among the Hindūs, will assuredly be found genuine. I do not doubt that the Vedas, of which an account has been here given, will appear to be of this description.”

* Mr. Colebrooke adheres to the Persian nomenclature of the Peninsula ; by which the country, from the mountains that separate it from Cashmire, &c. down as far as the river Nerbudda, or about the 22d degree of latitude, is called Hindūstan, and from thence southward, Deckhan, or Dekhin.

“ To each Veda a treatise, under the title of Jyotish, is annexed, which explains the adjustment of the calendar, for the purpose of fixing the proper periods for the performance of religious duties. It is adapted to the comparison of solar and lunar time with the vulgar or civil year; and was evidently formed in the infancy of astronomical knowledge. From the rules delivered in the treatises which I have examined, it appears that the cycle there employed, is a period of five years only. The month is lunar; but at the end, and in the middle, of the quinquennial period, an intercalation is admitted, by doubling one month. Accordingly, the cycle comprises three common lunar years, and two, which contain thirteen lunations each. The year is divided into six seasons; and each month into half months. A complete lunation is measured by thirty lunar days; some one of which must of course, in alternate months, be sunk, to make the dates agree with the nycthemera, For this purpose, the sixty-second day ap-

pears to be deducted;* and thus the cycle of five years consists of 1860 lunar days, or 1830 nycthemera; subject to a further correction, for the excess of nearly four days above the true sidereal year: but the exact quantity of this correction, and the method of making it, according to this calendar, have not yet been sufficiently investigated to be here stated. The zodiac is divided into twenty-seven asterisms, or signs, the first of which, both in the Jyotish and in the Vedas, is Crittica, or the Pleiads.”

“ The deities, presiding over the twenty-seven constellations, are enumerated in the three verses of the Jyotish belonging to the Yajush, and in several places of the Vedas.”

“ In several passages of the Jyotish, these names of deities are used for the con-

* “ The Athenian year was regulated in a similar manner; but, according to Geminus, it was the sixty-third day, which was deducted. Perhaps this Hindū calendar may assist in explaining the Grecian system of lunar months.”

stellations over which they preside ; especially one, which states the situation of the moon, when the sun reaches the tropic, in years other than the first of the cycle. Every where these terms are explained, as indicating the constellations, which that enumeration allots to them.”*

With respect to those who have disputed the antiquity of Indian literature, he adds, that “ they have grounded their opposition on assertions and conjectures, inconsiderately hazarded, eagerly received, and extravagantly strained.”

He concludes his essay on the Vedas with the following observation ; “ The preceding description may serve to convey some notion of the Vedas. They are too voluminous for a complete translation of the whole : and what they contain would hardly reward the labour of the reader ; much less, that of the translator. The ancient dialect, in which they are composed, and especially that of the three first Vedas,

* *Asiat. Res.* vol. viii. p. 479, et seq.

is extremely difficult and obscure; and, though curious, as the parent of a more polished and refined language (the classical Sanscrit) its difficulties must long continue to prevent such an examination of the whole Vedas, as would be requisite for extracting all that is remarkable and important in those voluminous works: but they well deserve to be occasionally consulted by the Oriental scholar.”*

It is observed by Sir William Jones, “that we must not confound the system of the Jyautishicas, or mathematical astronomers, with that of the Pauranicas, or poetical fabulists; for to such a confusion alone, must we impute the many mistakes of Europeans, on the subject of Indian science.” Nor should the various glosses and commentaries on the Vedas and Laws of Menu, be confounded with, or interpreted as equivalent to what is expressed in those works themselves.

The following passages from the learned

* Asiat. Res. vol. viii. p. 497.

Journal, which we have already had occasion to cite,* shall close our inquiries relative to the astronomy of the Hindūs :

“ Besides the arguments that tend immediately to prove the antiquity of the astronomy of the Hindūs, there are others that do so indirectly, by marking it as a system distinct from those that are known to have existed in Greece and Arabia ; the only countries, it would appear, from which India can have borrowed. We had occasion already to remark the great difference between the tables of Tirvalore and those of Ptolemy, and of Ulugh Beigh, when we calculated from them the places of the sun and moon at the beginning of the Kali-Yug. We might remark the same sort of dissimilitude on comparing them either

* The Edinburgh Review, for July, 1807, vol. x. pp. 469, et seq. The strictures given in the text, it may be proper to state, were written in answer to two articles by Mr. J. Bentley, in the 6th and 8th volume of the “ Asiatic Researches ;” in which he endeavours to combat the received opinions concerning the remote antiquity of the Indian astronomy.

with the Arabic or the Persian tables, so that they seem essentially distinguished from all the systems of ancient astronomy, of which any distinct records have been preserved.

“ In several of the other astronomical methods, not contained immediately in the tables, the same appearance of originality is discovered. Such is the rule by which the Brahmin of Tirvalore, who instructed Le Gentil, computed the length of the day at the different seasons of the year. That rule consisted in an approximation to a trigonometric result, made by a method quite peculiar, and applicable only to very low latitudes. The trigonometry contained in the *Surya Siddhanta*, of which Mr. Davis has given so curious an account, is very different from any thing of the same sort that we meet with in other quarters. The theorem from which the investigation of the sines is deduced in that trigonometry, has been pointed out,* and is a proposition that was known to the Greek

* Edinb. Trans. vol. iv. p. 83, et seq.

geometers, but not applied by them in a way at all similar to that explained in the *Surya Siddhanta*. The remark on which the computation in that work proceeds, that each number in the tables is related in the same way to the two that go before it, is abundantly subtle, and escaped the mathematicians of Europe, till within two centuries of the present time.

“To this we may add the rectification of the circle, or the computation of the length of its circumference, made by a rule known in India before it was known in Europe, and remarkable for its accuracy. This we are informed of in the *Institutes of Akber*, where the proportion of the circumference to the diameter is said to be stated by the *Hindūs*, at 3927 to 1250, which is the same with that of 3.1416 to 1; an approximation very near the truth, and the same which we now employ in our computations, though we believe that it was hardly known in Europe at the time when the Emperor Akber reigned in India.*

* *Ayeen Akbery*, vol. ii. p. 317.

“ The consideration of these facts, and of many more which it would be easy to produce, ought to keep our curiosity alive to the remains of science in the East. Their extent and accuracy are so considerable, their origin and genealogy so completely unknown, they are united with so much extravagance and superstition, and so totally separated from any general stock of knowledge, that we cannot but consider them as forming altogether the most enigmatical monument of antiquity that is to be found on the face of the earth. We wish to consider this subject as still requiring much investigation, and we would wish to prevent opinion from taking on this head, any fixed and determinate position. The probability seems to us to be much in favour of the great antiquity of these curious remains.”*

* See Note D. in the Appendix.

CHAPTER IX.

ARCHITECTURE AND ANCIENT STRUCTURES
OF THE HINDŪS.

THAT the Hindūs possessed a knowledge of the mechanical powers, which in the lapse of time, and under the oppressions of their conquerors, has been lost, may, among other proofs, be inferred from those huge and ponderous masses of granite to be seen in their ancient edifices, raised to wonderful heights above the level of the ground. The ceilings of gateways, and of rooms of lofty elevation, are to be observed, formed by slabs of granite, placed laterally, and nicely shaped to each other, some measuring above thirty feet in length with a proportional thickness.* Many edi-

* See description of the temple of Seringham, &c. in

fices, of immense size, and curious and skilful structure, are yet in perfect preservation, though of such remote antiquity, that no legend or tradition exists of the epochs when they were erected. Inscriptions still remaining on them, are no longer intelligible; yet, from the solidity of their construction, and the durability of their materials, they have hitherto resisted all the effects of time. The inscriptions alluded to, must either be in a language that was anterior to the Sanscrit, or which, if co-existent with it, may have been some secret one, known only to the learned amongst the priesthood, but which in the course of numerous succeeding ages has been lost: or, if in the Sanscrit language, that the characters may have been so changed, as in the case of our own language, as to render the reading and explanation difficult to those who have attempted them. Those temples, which are to be met

with, formed by excavations into mountains, may be of yet more ancient dates than those raised by the architect on sites chosen for the purpose. The subterraneous temples which have as yet principally attracted the attention of Europeans, are those at Gayah and Ellora, those on the islands of Salsette and Elephanta, those at Mavalipuram, and those in Cabul and Candahar, which (as already noticed) formed part of the ancient Indian empire.

The subterraneous excavations at Ellora, in the Deckhan, extending, with a few intervals, over a tract of nearly two leagues, consist of gateways, areas, temples, halls, rooms that must have served for dwelling-places, and extensive corridors. Some of those excavations are in two stories, one immediately above the other, the roofs of each supported by columns, cut and shaped out of the solid rock, without being detached from it. Every where, but especially in the temples, are to be seen statues and sculptures in relief, exhibiting subjects taken from the Hindū mythology. It appears

from an account given of them, by Sir Charles Malet, who visited them in 1794,* that those excavations are not only very numerous, but some of them of vast extent. Though indisposition prevented him from seeing all of them, he nevertheless visited, and has given a description of fifteen distinct places, some of them consisting of several rooms. One named by the Hindūs, *paradise*, besides the temple, which is spacious, has above twenty other rooms and passages. He concludes his account by saying :—" It is necessary to observe, that there are a great many other excavations in the semi-circular mountain that commands a view of the fine valley of Ellora, which indisposition prevented my visiting. Whether we consider the design, or contemplate the execution, of these extraordinary works, we are lost in wonder at the idea of forming a vast mountain into almost eternal mansions. The mythological symbols and figures throughout the whole, leave no room

* Asiatic Researches, vol. v. p. 135.

to doubt their having owed their existence to religious zeal, the most powerful and most universal agitator of the human mind.

“ The ancient Brahmins avoided the contamination of cities, and affected the purity and simplicity of rural retirement; when far removed from observation, the imagination of their disciples probably enhanced the merits of their sanctity. To alleviate austerities, and to gratify the devout propensities of these holy men, naturally became objects of pious emulation. Under this influence, the munificence of princes may have been engaged to provide them retreats; which, sanctified by the symbols of their adoration, were at once suited, in simplicity and seclusion, to those for whom they were intended, and in grandeur to the magnificence of their founders.”

The article on Ellora, in the fifth volume of the Asiatic Researches, contains a fac-simile of ancient inscriptions, taken by Mr. Wales, an able and ingenious artist, who went thither for the purpose of making drawings of the excavations, and of the country

contiguous to them.* The inscriptions are translated by Capt. Francis Wilford, who says :—" I despaired at first of being able to decypher them ; however, after many fruitless attempts, we were so fortunate as to find at last an ancient sage, who gave us the key, and produced a book in Sanscrit, containing a great many ancient alphabets formerly in use in different parts of India. This was really a fortunate discovery, which hereafter may be of great service to us."

" There is an apparent stamp of antiquity upon these excavations, superior to those of Elephanta, Mavalipooram, &c. for there are fewer figures distorted with a multiplicity of arms and heads ; there is a grace almost Grecian in several of the deities ; and throughout, much less of grotesque barbarism and obscenity than is found in the more recent structures of their superstition. The wealth, the power, and

* Views from the drawings of Mr. Wales have been published by Mr. Daniel.

the labour, requisite to form these excavations, equal, if not surpass, all that must have been employed in the edifices of Egypt.”*

A description of the excavations on the island of Elephanta, is to be found in the *Asiatic Researches*.† This modern name of the island, is supposed to have been given by the Portugueze, from the statue of an Elephant as large as life, in black marble, which is near the usual landing place on the island.

Those on the island of Salsette are described by Anquetil du Perron.‡

We shall be more particular in regard to Malvalipuram, having ourselves resided some years in that part of India. This place is on the sea-coast, about thirty-eight miles south from Madras. The first written account given of it, that we have seen, is one by Mr. Chambers,§ and another by

* Vincent, vol. ii. p. 413.—See also Thevenot.

† Vol. iv. p. 407. ‡ Vol. i. p. 385, et seq.

§ *Asiatic Researches*, vol. i. p. 145.

Mr. Goldingham.* Mr. Chambers observes, that the name as here pronounced, *Mavali-puram*, is Tamulic, or in the language vulgarly called Malabar; but that the proper name in Hindū and Sanscrit is, *Maha-Bali-pur*, or *the city of the Great Bali*. Besides the places formed by excavations in the rocks, the remains of numerous buildings are to be traced on the surface of the hill, as well as on the plain below it. After passing several objects of inferior note, the first that attracts attention in mounting the hill, is a small Hindū temple, covered with sculpture, and hewn out of a single detached mass of granite, about twenty-six feet in height, nearly the same in length, and about fourteen in breadth. Within it, is a *Lingam*, and an inscription on the walls, in a character now unknown to the Hindūs. Mr. Chambers remarks, that it neither resembles the Devanagari, nor any of the characters connected with or derived from it. Contiguous to this, the

* Asiatic Researches, vol. v. p. 69.

surface of the rock, for about ninety feet in extent, is covered with sculptures, the most conspicuous of which is a gigantic figure of Krishna; near him are, his favorite Arjoun, in the attitude of prayer, and a venerable figure, said to be the father of Arjoun. Among the figures of several animals, there is one, which the Brahmins name *Singam*, or lion, but which is not an exact resemblance of that animal; nor is this surprising, as the lion is not an inhabitant of this part of Asia; but in the same group the elephant, monkey, and other figures, are executed with spirit and fidelity.—At a small distance are the ruins of some temples built of brick surrounded by a wall of stone, and an excavation in the rock, fronting the east, the massive roof of which is supported by rows of columns, but now so much corroded by the air of the sea, as to render it impossible to form a just idea of their original shape. A little farther on is a more spacious excavation, now used as a *Choultry*, or place of accommodation for travellers. Figures, sculptured

on the wall fronting the entrance into it, represent Krishna attending the herds of Ananda, the Admetus of the Hindūs; from which circumstance Krishen is called Goupaul, or the *Cowherd*, as Apollo in this quality was named by the Greeks, Nomius. In the group is a man playing on a flageolet to a child, and a figure of Krishen larger than life, attended by Goppias, or nymphs, who may be termed the Hindū muses.

On the pavement of this room, is another inscription, in characters also now unintelligible. The ascent of the hill from hence, is at first gradual and easy, and where otherwise, it is rendered so by steps shaped out of the rock. A winding staircase leads to a temple likewise cut out of the rock: in it are several figures in relief, which being sheltered from the sea-air, by fronting the west, are in perfect preservation. The top of the hill is strewn with fragments, said to be the remains of a palace.—At one end of a rectangular polished slab of granite, ten feet in length, with steps to ascend to it, is the figure of a

Singham couchant; the Brahmins of the place call this slab the couch of Dhermah Rajah. Further on, is a reservoir cut into the rock, which is said to have been, originally, a bath for the use of the female inhabitants of the palace. Descending over immense fragments of stone, is a spacious excavation destined as a temple of Siva, who in the centre compartment, is represented of large stature, with four arms, the left foot resting on a bull couchant. Near him on the left is a small figure of Brahma, one of Vishnu, and another of the goddess Parvati. At one end of this temple is a gigantic figure of Vishnu sleeping, his head reclining on an immense hooded snake rolled in numerous coils, and having several heads, so disposed as to form a canopy with their heads over the head of the God.* At the opposite end of this temple is the consort of Siva, with eight arms, and mounted on a *Singham*; fronting her, a gigantic

* See description of the rock of Jehangueery, *supra*, vol. i. p. 97, note.

figure of human shape with the head of a buffalo; between them a man suspended with his head downward. The goddess has several warlike weapons, and some armed attendants of diminutive size. The monster opposite to her with the head of the Buffalo, is armed with a club. In the character of Durga, and protectress of the virtuous, she is supposed to be rescuing from the figure with the head of the buffalo, the person represented as suspended between them.

On a spot considerably elevated over this excavated temple, is a smaller one, wrought out of a single block of granite, and similar to one already described. Within it, is a slab of polished granite, resembling the one called by the Brahmins, the couch of Dhermah. Adjoining is another temple of nearly equal dimensions, but in a rude state, and which evidently had never been finished. On the plain at the bottom of the hill, is a village, chiefly inhabited by Brahmins. Near to it are remains of many stone edifices, and a large tank surrounded

with stone steps descending from the margin to the bottom.* Contiguous is a small temple, with a canopy of stone, which attracts attention by the beauty of its construction. The canopy is supported by four columns with bases and capitals, each of a single piece of granite, about twenty-seven feet in height, and five feet and a half in diameter at the base; but instead of being fluted, or smooth and round, or presenting four equal sides, each has sixteen equal sides. East of the village, and washed by the sea, is a temple containing a Lingam, and dedicated to Siva. In this temple, besides other figures, there is one of a gigantic size stretched on the ground, and fastened to it. The Brahmins say that it represents a prince, who was conquered and thus

* Numerous *tanks* of this kind are to be found in every province of India, some in front of temples, others for the use and ornament of towns. They are of a quadrangular form; but it is said that the Hindūs, from some superstitious notion, never construct any thing of an exact square, though the deviation from it is sometimes so small as not to be perceptible to the eye.

secured by Vishnu. The waves now wash the door of the innermost apartment of this temple where the Lingam is placed, but before which Mr. Chambers supposes there were several spacious courts, such as are frequently to be found in the construction of great Hindū temples; and the column, that must have been used to ascertain the meridian when the temple was begun, and placed in front of it, is now seen standing at some distance from it in the sea.

In the neighbourhood of this building are detached fragments of it washed also by the waves; some have sculptures on them, but these are much defaced. The Brahmins assert, that, beyond this, lie the ruins of a city, said to have been of great magnitude and magnificence, and which, though formerly several miles distant from the ocean, is now covered by it. Many circumstances tend to confirm this assertion. Mr. Goldingham says that a Brahmin of about fifty years of age, a native of the place, assured him that his grandfather had seen the gilt tops or pinnacles of the

towers of five different temples, under water, but which are no longer visible. That this once flourishing city was destroyed in some remote age, by one of those extraordinary convulsions which our globe has undergone, and to which it is subject, and not by the gradual encroachment of the sea, as sometimes occurs, cannot be doubted. Remains of buildings are to be observed, which evidently were never finished, and whose execution must have been arrested by the event. Mr. Chambers, speaking of some of these, says :* “ though the outward form of some temples is complete, the ultimate design of them has manifestly not been accomplished, but seems to have been defeated by some extraordinary convulsion of nature. For the western side of the most northerly one, is excavated to the depth of four or five feet, with a row of pillars left on the outside to support the roof ; but here the work has been stopped, and an uniform rent of about four

* *Asiat. Res.* vol. i. p. 152.

inches broad has been made throughout the solid rock, and appears to descend to its foundations, which are probably at a prodigious depth below the surface of the ground. That this rent has happened since the work was begun, or while it was carrying on, cannot be doubted; for the marks of the masons' tools are perfectly visible in the excavated part on both sides of the rent, in such a manner as to shew plainly that they have been divided by it. Nor is it reasonable to suppose that such a work would ever have been designed, or begun, upon a rock that had previously been rent in two."

About a mile south from the village are structures similar to those already described. One of these is about forty feet in height, twenty-nine in breadth, and nearly the same in length, formed out of a single stone, the outside of which is covered with sculpture. The next to this is also cut from one mass, in length forty-nine feet, in breadth and height twenty-five, and rent through the middle from top to

bottom. Beside these, there are three smaller structures of stone. Here also is a statue of a Singham, or lion, much bigger than life, and near it an elephant, but which is only nine feet in height and large in proportion, exhibiting the true figure and character of the animal; and both Mr. Chambers and Mr. Goldingham speak with praise of the manner in which several of the sculptures at Mavalipuram are executed. They appear to be the works of no mean artists. Mr. Goldingham has given exact copies of eighteen different inscriptions.*

Many circumstances exist, to prove that the sea must once have covered all the country named Carnatic Payen-ghaut, as far as the range of mountains that separate it from the provinces named Carnatic Balan-ghaut, or the low and high Carnatic: and

* For an account of Mavalipuram, see also "Monumens Anciens et Modernes de l'Indoustan, by M. Langlès," p. 47, *et seq.*; and "Journal of a Residence in India, by Maria Graham," p. 155.

since its general recession, it has again in some places encroached upon the former. At what period, or from what cause the country was inundated, are subjects, we presume, that will ever remain hypothetical. Amongst the proofs alluded to, that the Carnatic Payen-ghaut was once overflowed, are the quantities of petrified marine productions, and calcareous masses, evidently composed of sea shells, that are to be found not only in the plains, but also on the mountains above mentioned. Nor can it be doubted that what now forms the island of Ceylon, was once a part of the peninsula of India.

The excavations that are to be met with in different parts of Candahar, but especially in the mountains named by Rennell, Hindoo-Kho, the Indian Caucasus, seem still more wonderful than the others we have mentioned. Captain Wilford* supposes the name Paropamisus given by the

* Asiatic Researches, vol. i. p. 455, *et seq.*

Greeks to a branch of those mountains, to be derived from the compound Sanscrit name Para-Vami, meaning the pure and excellent city of Vami, a place of great antiquity situated between the city of Cabul and Bahlac. The Buddhaists, or followers of Buddha, pretend that it was once the metropolis of their sect. What now remains of the city of Para-Vami, or as it is vulgarly called Bamiyan, consists of a vast number of apartments and recesses formed in the rocky mountain; some of which, on account of their extraordinary dimensions, are supposed to have been temples. They are called Samach'h, in the language of the country, and by the Persians Samaij. Some of them are adorned with carved work, and remains of figures in relief, and paintings on the walls. It is said in the Ayeen Akbery,* under the *statistical account of Candahar*, that there are about 12,000 of these recesses in the Tuman, or district of Bamiyan, which is also confirmed by

* Vol. ii. London edit. page 183.

the reports of travellers. “The country of the Afghans, as far as Bahlac and Badacshan, abounds with such excavations : some of them are very rude, whilst others are highly finished and ornamented. The most perfect are at a place called Mohi, on the road between Bamiyan and Bahlac : as they are situated amongst precipices, the Musalmans have never thought of living in them ; and some of the paintings, with which they are adorned, yet look fresh. But what never fails to attract the notice of travellers, are two colossal statues, which are seen at a great distance. They are erect, and adhere to the mountain, from which they were cut out. They are in niches, the depth of which is equal to the thickness of the statues. It is said in the Ayeen Akbery, that the largest is eighty ells high, and the other only fifty. These dimensions are greatly exaggerated ; according to the opinion of all the travellers I have seen, the disproportion is not so great, between the two. According to the author of the Pharangh-Jehanghiri

cited by Dr. Hyde,* they are said to be only fifty cubits high ; which appears to be the true dimensions. At some distance from these two statues, is another of a smaller size, being about fifteen cubits high. Native and Persian authors, who have mentioned them, agree neither about their sex, nor their names. The few Hindūs, who live in these countries, say, that they represent Bhím and his consort : the followers of Buddha affirm that they are the statues of Sháhámá, and his disciple Sál-sálá. The Musalmāns insist, that they are the statues of Key-Umursh and his consort, that is to say, Adam and Eve ; and that the third is intended for Seish or Seth, their son ; whose tomb, or at least the place where it stood formerly, is shewn near Bahlac. These statues are so much defaced by the effects of time, and the intolerant zeal of the Musulmāns, that I believe

* Professor at Oxford. See his *Treatise on the Religion of the ancient Persians*, and *De Ludis Orientalibus*, &c. &c.

it is difficult to ascertain their sex. Travellers do, however, agree that one of them at least, is a beardless youth : some more particularly insist that the swelling of the breasts is remarkably obvious, and that both look towards the east ; so that, when the sun rises, they seem to smile, but look gloomy in the evening. These statues were visited, at least ten or twelve different times, by a famous traveller, called Meyan-Asod-Shah, who is a man highly respected, both on account of his descent from Mohammed, and also for his personal character. He informed me lately, that these two statues are in two different niches, and about forty spaces distant from each other. That the drapery is covered with embroidery and figured work ; which formerly was painted of different colours, traces of which are still visible. That one certainly represents a female, from the beauty and smoothness of her features, and the swelling of her breasts : the head being so much elevated is secure from injury from those below, and is also protected from the weather by the projec-

tion above. The statue of their supposed son is nearly half a mile distant, and about twenty feet high. One of the legs of the male figure is much broken; for the Musalmāns never march that way with cannon without firing two or three shots at them; but from their want of skill, they seldom do much mischief. As to their being hollow, I believe, it is an idle tale: at least the travellers, I have consulted, knew nothing of it. Between the legs of the male figure, is a door leading into a most spacious temple; the size of which, they could not describe otherwise, than by saying, that it could easily hold the camp-equipage and baggage of Zemaun-Shah, and of his whole army. It is remarkable only for its extraordinary dimensions: it is dark and gloomy; and there are a few niches, with the remains of some figures in *alto-relievo*. At the entrance are stationed a few wretched Banyans, who sell provision to travellers. The greatest part of the excavations in the district of Bamiyan, are now inhabited by Musalmāns who live promis-

cuously with their cattle. I have been informed, that there are no other statues, than the three here mentioned; but, from the numerous fragments, which are seen through the districts, there must have been several hundreds of them. They shew to this day the Samach'h, in which the famous Vyasa composed the Vedas; and others, where divers holy men gave themselves up to meditation, and the contemplation of the Supreme Being."

"Bamiyan, though not mentioned by name in Nonnus's Dionysiacs, is well described by him as the abode of the benevolent Brongus, who lived in Samach'hes, or recesses artfully excavated in the mountains. Brongus is obviously the Bhranga, or Bhrangas of the Puranas, called also Sarasa'la, and of whom I shall speak more fully hereafter.—Bamiyan appears also to be the town called Drastoca, by Ptolemy; which is derived from the Sanscrit Drashatca, and implies the *stone-city*. Its distance and bearing from Cabura, or Orthospana, the present city of Cabul, puts it beyond doubt.

The upper Naulibis, or Nilabi, in Ptolemy, falls in at Ghor-bund, or Goracsha-van, in Sanscrit, which appears to be the *Alexandria ad Paropamisum* of the historians of Alexander. It was called Nilabi, from its being situated on the banks of the Nilab. The immense ridge between Nilabi and Drashatca, or Drashtaca, is properly delineated in Ptolemy. *Alexandria ad Paropamisum* was near the cave of Prometheus, which is to be seen to this day, near the pass of Sheibar, between Ghor-band and Bamiyan. Orthospana, or simply Asbana, is mentioned in the Peutingerian table. It is called also in Sanscrit, Jayini-Devī, or the place of the goddess of victory, and is the Nicæa (a word of the same import) of the historians of Alexander. The place where her temple stood, is close to Cabul, and is still secretly visited by Hindū pilgrims. The Nicæa of the historians of Alexander is probably the Nicæa of Nonnus, which he calls also Astacia, perhaps from Asacia, or Asyacia; for, according to the Puranas, Jayini-Devī, or the nymph Nicæa, was also

called A'syaca; A'saca would be as grammatical; and the town of A'saca, or A'syaca, in a derivative form, would be A'syaceya, or A'saceya; or, according to the idiom of the Greek language, Asyacia and Asacia.*

In the Ayeen Akbery it is said: "In one of these Summijes, or recesses, is a tomb, in which there is a coffin, containing a corpse, concerning which the oldest persons can give no account. It is held in great veneration. The ancients certainly were possessed of some medical preparations, with which, if they anointed dead bodies, and afterwards buried them in a dry soil, they suffered no injury from time; and there can be no doubt but this corpse must have been preserved after that manner, although the ignorant suppose it something miraculous."†

* Wilford.

† For the description of the temples at Gaya, in the Vindhya mountains, see Asiatic Researches, vol. i. p. 276, *et seq.*; and we recommend to the attention of the reader a letter from Mr. (now Dr.) Charles Wilkins, on the subject of the inscriptions in those temples, in the same volume, p. 279, and in vol. ii. p. 167.

To give an account of the stupendous ancient temples, and what may be termed monasteries, that are to be met with in India, would extend this article to much too great length. In the countries of the Deckan, but especially in the southern parts of it, they are extremely numerous, and some of them are of immense magnitude.

CHAPTER X.



OF THE MANNERS, CUSTOMS, ETC. OF THE
HINDŪS.

AVERSION from the shedding of blood, inculcated by religion, and confirmed by education and habit;—the effects of a climate, which lessens the wants of life;—perhaps too, the moderate use of animal food even with those to whom it is allowed; together with abstinence from spirituous liquors;—may all contribute to render the Hindūs, generally speaking, perhaps, the mildest inhabitants of the globe.* That

* Nor does the practice of human sacrifices, which, it is said, once existed among them, affect our opinion of their general character. They had been led erroneously to believe, that sacrifices, the most averse from

they should have patience and resignation under adversity, are qualities, which from the causes we have mentioned, might be expected in them: the Hindū, however, under the influence of religion, ideas of honour, or from a sense of shame, will not only meet death with indifference, but em-

their feelings, were due to an offended God, and would serve to assuage his wrath, or obtain his protection: hence also we find Agamemnon sacrificing his daughter Iphigenia, and Abraham, to prove his obedience, on the point of sacrificing his son Isaac. To believe that any act of cruelty should be acceptable to a Being, who is all goodness, and on whose mercy we depend for forgiveness of our misdeeds, is an idea so grossly repugnant to reason, that it is difficult to conceive how it should have ever obtained credit; and, though introduced in times of barbarism, how it should have continued to be practised, as it appears to have been, long after the Hindūs had become a refined and enlightened nation: but the same observation is equally applicable towards the Greeks; and we are sorry to add, that the persecutions which were so long and so cruelly exercised by the Romish against the Protestant Christians, excite similar reflections. The mild Hindū would weep over the sacrifice he offered, but the European persecutor exulted in his crime.

brace it by choice. Of this disposition in regard to the people, generally, as of the bold and active courage which characterizes the Cshatriya or military cast, numerous examples might be given. We shall select only a few.

The Rajah of Ongole having been driven from his possessions by the late Nabob of the Carnatic, Mahomed Ally,* after some fruitless attempts to recover them, resolved to make a final effort for that purpose. He accordingly entered the province at the head of those who had accompanied him in his flight; and was soon joined by many of his former subjects. The officer who commanded the troops of the East India Company that were stationed in the province,† marched to oppose him. The parties met: in the engagement the Rajah was killed by a musket shot; and most of his principal followers having also fallen, the

* Known in history by that name, but who afterwards assumed that of Walaw Jaw.

† Lieut. Colonel Thomas Fletcher.

rest of his troops were broken and dispersed. The English commander, being informed that a relation of the Rajah was on the field wounded, went up to him with an interpreter, to offer him his protection and assistance. He found him lying on the ground, and speaking to an attendant, of whom he was inquiring whether the Rajah's body had been saved and carried off the field. Being informed that it had, without deigning to reply to the officer, he gave himself a wound with his poniard, of which he almost instantly expired.

M. de Bussy having, in 1757, led the army which he commanded, into the provinces called the Northern Sircas, the revenue of which had been assigned to the French, by the Nizam Salabat Jung; Viziamrauze, Rajah of Vizianagaram, the most powerful Rajah of Cicacole, was chiefly consulted by M. de Bussy, on the affairs of that province, and enjoyed a principal share in his confidence. Viziamrauze being entrusted with the management and collection of the revenue, made

use of his authority to gratify an animosity that had long occupied his mind.

Some of the possessions of Rangarow, Rajah of Boobeli, bordered upon the territory belonging to Viziamamrauze, and disputes concerning their boundaries, and diverting the course of streams,* had frequently occurred between them: but the secret, and probably most powerful cause of hatred, was the consequence which Rangarow derived from superior birth, and who could not always conceal the indignation which a consciousness of this is apt to produce in persons of an elevated mind, when exposed to the insolence of one of inferior extraction, to whom fortune has been more propitious. Rangarow enjoyed the honour of an illustrious ancestry. He claimed his descent from the ancient kings of Orixá, and his person and family were universally respected. The family of Vi-

* In a country where water is so much required for cultivation, this is often the subject of great dissension between neighbouring proprietors of lands.

ziaramrauze had been raised and enriched by intrigues at the courts of Mohammedan viceroys. He took an early opportunity of writing to Rangarow, calling on him to attend him as the delegate of the government, and to account with him for his tribute. The other saw the danger to which he was exposed if he refused—the indignity, if he complied ; but his feelings being too powerful to yield to the suggestions of prudence, without deigning to reply, he wrote to M. de Bussy, assuring him of his readiness to conform in every thing to his commands, except attending on his enemy ; a mortification he conjured him not to insist upon. The letter was probably intercepted by Viziamrauze, and Rangarow's silence and non-appearance were construed into insolence and disaffection. About the same time, some Sepoys in the French service, with some of Viziamrauze's Peons, in attempting to enter the Boobeli district, were driven back. The people of that country say, they were sent on purpose by him, without any communication

to the Rajah, with a view to provoke resistance. But in whatever way it arose, this circumstance confirmed the opinion M. de Bussy had been taught to entertain; and Viziamrauze availed himself of that disposition, to persuade him to march against Boobeli. When Rangarow was informed of the motions of the French army, and that Viziamrauze accompanied it; the former attempt that had been made to enter his territory, and his letter not having been replied to, concurred in making him believe that his ruin was resolved. Being too high spirited to fly, or preferring any alternative to that of living as a suppliant in another country, he took the fatal resolution to prepare for defence, and suffered himself to be shut up in an ill-constructed fort with his family and principal relations. The place was attacked; the artillery soon made a breach in the walls, but the besieged, fighting with the courage produced by resentment and despair, repulsed an assault, though sustained with per-

severing intrepidity. On the 24th of January, 1758, a second assault was made and repulsed as the former had been; but the number of the besieged being now much diminished, Rangarow assembled his kinsmen, and informed them, that as it was impossible to defend the place much longer, or probably even to resist another assault, he had resolved not to survive his misfortunes, nor expose himself and family to be dragged as captives before an enemy whom he despised: he did not wish, however, that his own feelings and sentiments should have any influence on their conduct; nor did he see that they stood in the same predicament that he did. But they unanimously approved and adopted his determination. He then sent for his only child, an infant son, and taking him in his arms, and giving him his last embrace and blessing, delivered him to the care of two officers, on whose intrepidity and prudence he could depend, with directions to convey him to one of his friends, a Rajah, among the

western mountains, with this message :
“ Rangarow sends you his son, as the last proof of his confidence and friendship.”

The resolution taken by the men was universally approved and adopted by all their female relatives. A short time was now employed in performing religious ceremonies, and in preparing for the flames those dwellings where they had hitherto lived in peace and happiness. The women assisted the men in that office with alacrity and zeal, and every one received the wound of death, from the hand of the person to whom she was most nearly allied, or gave it with her own. This dreadful scene being closed, the men set fire to their dwellings, that they might yet see this last ceremony performed, and be certain that the bodies of their women should not be exposed to insult.

The enemy observing the conflagration, had again mounted the breach at the time Rangarow and his followers returned to it. He fell with all who accompanied him, as they disdained to receive quarter. The

only living persons found in the fort were a few Brahmins, who related the dismal tale.*

M. de Bussy, deeply affected by this dreadful catastrophe, resolved to quit a place that constantly recalled to his mind the unhappy fate of its late inhabitants.

The two officers to whose care Rangarow had confided his son, having successfully executed the trust that was committed to them, came disguised as *Yogey*s, or ascetics, into the camp of Viziamarauze the day preceding that on which the army was to march from the neighbourhood of Boobeli. With the freedom allowed to those devotees, they took their station under a tree near his tent, without being questioned. In the night they privately entered it, by creeping on the ground, and cutting a

* In Quintus Curtius we have an example similar to this:—"Sed cum in obsidione perseverasset, oppidani, desperatâ salute, ignem subjecere tectis, se quoque ac liberos conjugesque incendio cremant. Quod cum ipsi augerent, hostes extinguerent, nova forma pugnae erat; delebant incolæ urbem, hostes defendebant."—*Q. Curt.* lib. ix. c. 4. (tom. ii. p. 168, ed. Bipont.)

passage in a side of it where there happened to be no centinel. He was a corpulent, unwieldy man : they found him lying on his bed asleep ; but awaking him, and telling him who they were, they struck him with their poniards. The guards, on hearing a noise, rushed in ; but Viziamramrauze was dead, being pierced with many wounds. Though the murderers might, probably, have escaped by the way they came in, they made no attempt to do so ; but standing, and pointing to the body, said, “ Look here ; we are satisfied.” They related the means they had taken to avenge their chief ; and, having declared that no other person was concerned with them in their enterprize, they suffered death with the composure of men who had foreseen their fate, and were perfectly resigned to it.*

* According to the customs of the Hindūs, the history of the Boobeli Rajah, and the circumstances above mentioned, are commemorated in songs ; as the adventures of chieftains were formerly celebrated and sung by the Bards and Troubadours of Europe.

When Devi-Cotah was taken by the English in 1749, some officers examining the different buildings of the fort, found in one of the chambers a Tanjorine lying on the ground desperately wounded ; whom, being unable to move without assistance, the garrison in their precipitate flight had neglected to carry off. He was an officer of rank, and an Indian of a superior cast. He was taken care of by the captors, but with a sullen obstinacy refused every kind of aid, nor would submit to the necessary treatment for his wounds until he found that the surgeon was about to use force ; but he was no sooner left alone than he stripped off the bandages, and tore open his wounds. Some persons were, therefore, appointed to watch him. He was removed from the place where he was found into a thatched hut in a distant part of the fort, that his rest might not be disturbed. Finding himself constantly watched, he behaved for three days with so much composure, that they, to whose care he was entrusted, thought he was reconciled

to life, and relaxing their attention, left him in the night, as they imagined, asleep; but the Tanjorine soon seized the opportunity of their absence to creep to a corner of the hut, where a lamp was burning, and with it set fire to the thatch; which, in that dry season of the year, caught the blaze so fiercely, that he was suffocated before it was possible to reach him.*

We shall conclude these examples of desperate acts of courage, by relating a more recent melancholy event. A body of English troops was sent in January, 1809, against Lutchman Dow, Rajah of Adjyghur in the province of Bundelcund.† We are ignorant of the cause of dispute.

* See Orme's History of the Transactions of the British nation in Hindūstān, vol. i. p. 116.

† Bundela, or Bundelcund, is a mountainous tract on the S.W. of the Jumnah, of about a hundred miles square, inhabited by a tribe of Rajahpouts. Contiguous to it on one side are the English possessions of Oude and Benares, and on the other side those of the Mah-rattas. In it are the diamond mines of Panna and Purna, supposed to be the Panassa of Ptolemy.

After various operations, Adjyghur was besieged, and on the 9th February surrendered to the English, it being agreed to give the Rajah, by way of indemnity, a Jaghire, or estate, in another quarter. After the surrender of his fort, he took up a temporary residence at Bandah, in the British territories, leaving his family in the meantime at a village near to Adjyghur, named Terwaney. He had continued to reside at Bandah till the beginning of June, when he suddenly disappeared. Apprehension of his having absconded with some hostile design, induced the English chief in the province of Bundelcund, to send instructions to the officer commanding at Adjyghur, to arrest the family of the Rajah at Terwaney. A party was accordingly despatched from Adjyghur for this purpose, and all the men of the family were conveyed to the fort, except an old man, father-in-law of Lutchman Dow, who was directed to prepare the women and children for their removal. Having entered the apartments of the women

in consequence of the order he had received, the door was immediately shut behind him. The person who commanded the party, after waiting a considerable time, advanced to open it, but it was found fastened: repeated calls were made to those within, but no answer was given; nor on listening, could any sound be heard. The door was then forced open, when the dead bodies of the whole family, women, children, and the old man himself, were seen extended, in their blood, on the floor. From the perfect silence which had prevailed, it was evident that no compulsion had been used, and that all had preferred death to the risk of exposing themselves to insult. It seemed equally evident, that the women themselves had supplied the instrument of death, which was found lying on the ground; for it is stated that the old man, when he went into the apartment, had no weapon of any kind. A nephew of the Rajah, who was among those who had been carried into the fort, also attempted to destroy himself, but was prevented,

though not till after he had given himself a severe wound. It was discovered, unhappily too late, that Lutchman Dow, far from absconding for any hostile purpose, had repaired secretly to Calcutta, to communicate to the supreme government certain grievances of which he had to complain.*

* See Asiatic Annual Register, for 1809, p. 3.

The fort of Adjyghur, situated on the summit of a high mountain, affords another of the many examples that exist in India, of works of high antiquity, and of wonderful execution.

“ When the British entered the fort, they were struck with the objects that presented themselves. Here were seen three large reservoirs, of very fine fresh water, cut with wonderful labour out of a solid rock: there, the ruins of three most magnificent Hindū temples, built of stones, laid without cement, but most nicely fitted to each other, and adorned within and without with sculpture of chaste design, and the most exquisite workmanship.

“ The æra of the erection of these venerable buildings is lost in antiquity; but they are evidently much older than the fortress, which was built by an ancient Rajah, called Ajygpaul, and after him called Adjyghur; the latter adjunct signifying a fortress.

“ Ajygpaul himself lived beyond the reach of any

When a Hindū finds that life is near its end, he will talk of his approaching dissolution with entire composure; and if near to the Ganges, or any other sacred river, will desire to be carried out to expire on its bank; nor will he do any thing to preserve life, that may be in any way contrary to the rules of his cast, or his religion.

That a sense of honour, or of what are thought religious duties, should produce such instances of active courage as we have quoted, notwithstanding the general mildness of temper and resignation under misfortune, that eminently characterize the Hindūs, are circumstances that do not seem to us incompatible with that character. We have in the history of the Christian religion, many examples of females submitting to suffer the most cruel torments of mar-

known record. The temples have two large tables with inscriptions; but the language and characters are unknown. The letters are in relief, the stone being cut away from them, according to the frequent custom of antiquity."—*As. Ann. Register for 1809*, p. 4.

tyrdom, rather than renounce their faith; but what would seem irreconcilable with the qualities attributed by us to the Hindūs, is, that a crime so repugnant to nature as that of infanticide should be found to exist among them; yet while the fact must be admitted, the very information that establishes it, proves at the same time, that the practice is confined to a few families belonging to some turbulent warlike tribes. One of these, named Raj-Kumars, inhabits a small district in the neighbourhood of Benares. Mr. Jonathan Duncan,* in a letter written by him, while resident there, dated the 26th April, 1789, says: “ Their number, it is said, doth not altogether exceed forty thousand; most of whom inhabit, in nearly one society, the opposite line of our boundary, in the dominions of his excellency the Vizier. They are originally Raja-Putras;† and even ex-

* Afterwards Governor of Bombay.

† The Raj-Putra, or, as it is commonly said, Raj-Put, is a division of the Cshatriya, or military class.

ceed that tribe in the wildness of their notions, and peculiarity of their manners; scarcely owning any allegiance, either to the Vizier's, or to our government; and always ready to betake themselves to arms, to which they are from infancy inured, in resentment either of public or private wrongs, real or imaginary. At the same time they have, I am assured, a sense of honour, from which they do not deviate; and are noted for faithfully adhering to such engagements as they may contract."

He afterwards says, in a letter of the 2d October, 1789: "I am told, and it is indeed generally believed, that it is no unfrequent practice among the tribe of Rajkumar to destroy their daughters, by causing the mothers to refuse them nurture; whence this race of men do often from necessity marry into other Raj-put families. The greatest exception that I can find to this melancholy truth is, that now and then, the more wealthy Rajkumars will sometimes spare, and bring up their female issue;

especially where they happen to have none of the male line. This horrid custom is said to exist also among some other tribes, more especially in the Vizier's dominions, and is thought to be founded in the extravagant desire of independency entertained by this race of men; joined, perhaps, to the supposed necessity of procuring a suitable settlement in marriage for these devoted females, were they allowed to grow up; and the disgrace which would ensue from any omission in that respect."

And again in a letter of the 26th December, 1789: "Having been lately through that part of the country where those of the Rajkumar tribe reside, I have conversed with several of them; and having, from their own confession, found that the custom of female child-murder has long been and still continues very prevalent among them, as noticed in my address of the 2d October, I have prevailed on those situated within our frontier, to agree to renounce in future this horrid practice; to

which effect they have entered into the engagement which will be found translated in the accompanying extract of my proceedings.—And as this baneful habit is not confined to the Rajkumars, but extends, though not in a degree so prevalent, to the tribe called Raghuvansa,* who reside in our *Pergunna* of Mongra, and *Talook* of Chandwack, and in other parts, I have taken measures for their signing a separate similar engagement, from which I have very sanguine hopes that this system of infanticide will be put a stop to, or be, at least, greatly lessened; as all the Rajkumars with whom I conversed, did, while they admitted the fact, fully acknowledge its atrocity; in extenuation of which, they pleaded the great expense of procuring suitable matches for their daughters, if allowed to grow up.”

It appears that infanticide was also practised by some Raj-put families in Guzurat,

* Or Raj-bunses.

and other parts of India.* The practice of widows burning themselves with the bodies of their deceased husbands, exists in almost every province of India; and though it is carefully discouraged in the territories belonging to the English, still the numbers of victims yearly are considerable. The intention of so barbarous a custom is sufficiently evident; and in all oriental countries, the superiority and security of the husband, and the preservation of his domestic authority, seem to have been a main object with legislators. Yet the law rather recommends, than ordains this sacrifice. It is said :

“ The woman who burns herself with her husband, purifies the family of her mother, her father, and her husband.”

“ There is no virtue greater than a virtuous woman’s burning herself with her husband.”

* See “ Hindū Infanticide,” by Edward Moore, published at London, 1811.

See also Asiatic Researches, vol. iv. article xxii. p. 363, et seq. 8vo. edition;—and note E, in the Appendix.

“ No other effectual duty is known for virtuous women, at any time after the death of their lords, except casting themselves into the same fire.”

“ As long as a woman, in her successive transmigrations, shall decline burning herself, like a faithful wife, on the same fire with her deceased lord, so long shall she be not exempted from springing again to life in the body of some female animal.”

“ If the husband be out of the country when he dies, let the virtuous wife take his slippers, or other things of his apparel, and binding them on her breast, after purification, enter a separate fire.”

“ A woman who may be pregnant, or doubtful whether she be so, or menstruous, cannot ascend the pile”—and the Vishnoo Pooranũ adds, “ or lately brought to bed.”

“ If the husband die on the third day of the wife’s menstrual discharge, and she desire to burn with him, the burning of his corpse shall be delayed one day to accommodate her.”

“ If the wife be within one day’s journey of the place where the husband died, and signify her wish to burn with him, the burning of his corpse shall be delayed till her arrival.”

As soon as her husband dies, she is to declare her resolution of burning with his body. Taking in her hand a twig of the mango tree, she proceeds with it to where the body has been carried, and sits down beside it. The edges of her feet are then painted of a red colour. She afterwards bathes, and puts on new clothes. During these preparations, the drum beats a certain sound, by which it is known that a widow is about to burn herself. Numbers from curiosity and devotion resort to the place. The son of the deceased takes charge of preparing the things necessary for the ceremony. If there be no son, the nearest male relation does it, and if no relation, this duty devolves on the chief, or head person of the place. An oblong hole being dug in the ground, beams of green wood

are laid across it, which are covered with faggots, dried hemp, strewed with Ghee,* pitch, and other combustible materials. The chief of the officiating Brahmins goes to the widow, and causes her to repeat certain appropriate parts of worship; in which she prays, that, by the act she is about to perform, her husband, father, mother, and their ancestors, may with her be forgiven their offences. The prayers being ended, she takes off her ornaments, and distributes them to her friends, ties some red cotton yarn round both wrists, puts a new comb in her hair, and paints the marks of her cast on her forehead. While these things are performing, the dead body is anointed with ghee, and having a new dress put on, prayers are chaunted over it. He who has the charge of the ceremony taking some rice in his hands, offers it in sacrifice in the name of the deceased. Ropes being extended over the bed of combustibles, and a sheet of new cloth spread over them, the

* Clarified butter.

dead body is laid on it. The widow then walks seven times round the pile, strewing parched rice and Cowries,* as she goes, which are given to her for the purpose. The rice and Cowries are caught by the bystanders with great avidity as they fall, from the idea that the possession of them will serve to prevent or cure certain diseases. The widow having ascended the pile, and laid herself down by the body of her husband, the sheet is drawn over them, the bodies bound together with the ropes, and faggots laid upon them. The son of the deceased, or principal actor in the ceremony, turning his face from the pile, applies a lighted torch to it opposite to the head of the deceased, and persons placed round the pile, with torches in their hands, then set fire to it on all sides. If local situation admits of it, the ceremony is performed near to some sacred river, in order

* Small sea-shells, used in some parts of India as an inferior money.

to throw into it the bones, or ashes of the deceased.*

Some Hindūs, in different parts of India, bury the dead, and among these it is the duty of the widow in certain tribes, or families, to bury herself with the body of her husband. The religious ceremonies being performed, she descends into the grave with him, and taking the body in her arms, is with it covered with the earth.†

* Accounts of those sacrifices, by persons who were present at them, are to be found in numerous authors : see Bernier, Tavernier, Holwell, *Sketches of the Hindūs*, *Asiatic Annual Register*, Ward, &c. &c. The account here given, seems to be the most circumstantial of any which the author at present recollects.

† Bernier, after speaking of women who burn themselves, says : “ Ce sont certainement des choses bien barbares et bien cruelles ; mais ce que font les Brahmens dans quelques endroits des Indes est bien autant ou plus. Car, au lieu de brûler ces femmes, qui veulent mourir après la mort de leur mari, il les enterrent peu-à-peu toutes vives, jusqu’à la gorge ; et puis tout d’un coup se jettent deux ou trois dessus, leur tordent le cou, et les achevent d’étouffer.”

See likewise *Voyages de M. Dellon*, en 1668, tome i. p. 143, &c. Amsterdam.

The Hindūs, in general, are great observers of decorum ; their manners are unaffected ; and they are cautious not to say or do any thing which they imagine may offend, or serve to recall ideas that may be painful.

The mental faculties of the human species seem to arrive sooner at maturity in India than in colder climates ; and it is not uncommon to see children behave and speak with a degree of gravity and propriety that seems incompatible with their age.

It is said that the Hindūs were prohibited under the severest penalty, that of losing their cast, from quitting their country without permission ;* and the rules and restrictions with respect to their diet, render it almost impossible, without some dispensation in that respect being previously obtained. Whether merchants and bankers have a general dispensation, or travel by

* Indi enim prope gentium soli nunquam emigravêre finibus suis.—*Plin.* lib. vi. c. 20. tom. i. p. 374. (Ed. Bipont.)

particular leave of the principal Brahmins at the places where they reside, we know not; but they and their agents now, as formerly, are sometimes to be met with in different foreign countries. Every where, however, they abstain from eating such food as is forbidden by their laws, particularly any thing that may not have been prepared by persons of their casts; and they fail not to observe, as far as may be possible, their ablutions, and other religious duties.

Abul Fazil, after speaking of the religious tenets of the Hindūs, says, “ Summarily, the Hindūs are religious, affable, courteous to strangers, cheerful, enamoured of knowledge, fond of inflicting austerities upon themselves, lovers of justice, given to retirement, able in business, admirers of truth, grateful, and of unbounded fidelity. Their character shines brightest in adversity. Their soldiers know not what it is to fly from the field of battle.* They have great respect for their rulers, and make no

* Meaning of course the Cshatriya, or military cast.

account of their lives, when they can devote them to the service of God. If any person in distress flies to them for protection, although he be a stranger, they take him by the hand, and will defend him at the expense of their property, reputation, and life.”*

Though this account seems rather a list of good qualities than a faithful portrait of character, and though some of those qualities may perhaps be exaggerated, it must nevertheless be allowed, that such praise from a Mohammedan, and from one who possessed so much knowledge of the Hindūs as Abul Fazil, speaks strongly in favor of their manners and character in general.

As all the different professions amongst the Hindūs form so many classes or tribes, it may be said that every one learns from his father the trade he belongs to, nor can he quit it for any other.

The people in general are naturally

* Ayeen Akbery, edit. 1800; vol. ii. pp. 322 and 324.

cheerful, and fond of conversation, play, and sports. They will spend almost the whole night in seeing dancing, and hearing music ; yet none dance, or play on musical instruments, but those whose profession it is ; the *dancing women* devote themselves to the pleasure and amusement of the public.

The food of the Hindūs of all tribes is prepared in earthen vessels, or potter's ware : instead of plates and dishes, they use broad leaves, generally of the palm or plantain tree, neatly sewn together with a blade of grass, and which are thrown away, and renewed at every meal. Like the inhabitants of most eastern countries, they use neither forks nor spoons, but only the fingers of the right hand, and are scrupulously nice in washing their hands both before and after meals. The left hand is reserved for such offices as are judged to be uncleanly.

With them modes and fashions are unknown ; and their dresses, like their customs, are the same to-day as they probably

were at the beginning of the Kaly-Yug; unquestionably the same as found by the first Greeks who visited them.

The general dress of the common people and labourers, consists of a piece of cotton cloth wrapped round the body, over the loins, one end of which being passed between the legs, is tucked in behind; in places where the turban is not used, the head is bound with a piece of white linen. The rich and higher classes, besides the cloth round the body, have a piece of muslin over it, one end of which extends to the ankles; another piece thrown over the left shoulder, passes under the right arm, and a piece, in the shape and size of a handkerchief, is adjusted neatly to the head.

Many persons, and especially the inhabitants of cities, instead of the cloth thrown over the shoulder, wear a jama, or muslin robe, neatly shaped to the upper part of the body, but falling very full from thence, so low as almost entirely to cover the feet. A muslin sash is wrapped round the waist, the ends of which are generally ornamented

with a border and fringe. Persons of high rank sometimes wear above the jama a short loose vest, or jacket of fine worked muslin, or silk brocaded with small gold or silver flowers, and Cashmire shawls in the cool season. It is, however, doubtful whether the jama and turban may not be of foreign import, as they are not commonly met with in places remote from great towns.

Almost all the Hindūs wear ear-rings and bracelets, more or less valuable, according to their means of procuring them. On days of ceremony, princes and persons of high rank, besides bracelets and ear-rings have jewels on their turbans, and strings of pearls round their necks, hanging down upon the breast; on their feet slippers embroidered with gold, and those of princes, at great ceremonies, even with precious stones.* The slippers are con-

* “ *Corpora usque pedes carbaso† velant ; soleis pedes, capita linteis vinciunt, lapilli ex auribus pendent ; brachia quoque et lacertos auro colunt, quibus inter popu-*

† *Carpasa* is the Sanscrit name for the cotton plant.

stantly put off on going into an apartment, and left at the entrance, or given to an attendant; and they must, doubtless, be shocked at the usual practice of Europeans, in walking with their shoes over the clean linen cloth or carpets, on which they themselves sit, and occasionally lie down.

The distinction of dress in common use among the women, as among the men, consists chiefly in the fineness of the garment. The women in general wear a close jacket, which only extends downwards to cover the breasts, but shews their form. It has tight sleeves, that reach about half-way from the shoulder to the elbow; and a narrow border round the edges, dyed or em-

lares, aut nobilitas aut opes eminent.” Qu. Cur. lib. viii. c. 9. tom. ii. p. 131. (Ed. Bipont.) “Cum subito patefactâ portâ, rex Indus cum duobus adultis filiis occurrit, multum inter omnes barbaros eminens corporis specie. Vestis erat auro purpurâque distincta, quae etiam crura velabat: aureis soleis inseruerat gemmas: lacerti quoque et brachia margaritis ornata erant. Pendebant ex auribus insignes candore et magnitudine lapilli.” Qu. Cur. lib. ix. c. i. tom. ii. pp. 158, 159. (Ed. Bipont.)

broidered in different colours. A piece of white cotton cloth, wrapped several times round the loins, and falling down over the legs almost to the ankle on one side, but not quite so low on the other, serves as a petticoat. A wide piece of muslin is thrown over the left shoulder, which, passing under the right arm, is crossed round the middle ; and, being fastened by tucking part of it under the piece of cloth that is wrapped round the loins, hangs down to the feet. They sometimes lift one end of this piece of muslin, and spread it over the head, to serve as a veil. The hair is commonly rolled up into a knot, or bunch, towards the crown of the head, and fastened with a gold or silver bodkin : some have curls that hang before and behind the ears. The ornamental parts of dress depend on the means of the wearer for procuring them, but no new modes are introduced. They have bracelets on their arms, rings in their ears, on their fingers, their ankles, and toes, and frequently a small ring on one side of the nostril.

Such are the dresses we have observed among the Hindūs, whatever part of their country we have visited. Mr. Forster, in his “Journey from Bengal to England,” says, that in Cashmire, the women likewise wear the short jacket above-mentioned, but, instead of the cloth wrapped round the loins, they have a red petticoat with a border of different dyes, and instead of the hair being tied in a knot on the top of the head, have it, as is to be seen with the dancing women, plaited and hanging down behind, and a muslin veil that covers the head and extends rather lower than the middle of the body.

The Hindūs are averse from many of those accomplishments in women which are admired by Europeans. They say, they would be injurious to that simplicity of manners, and decorum of behaviour, which are requisite to render them estimable in their families; that, by too much engaging the mind, they would divert their attention from their children and husbands, and give them a disrelish for those cares

for which they think providence has designed them. But the dancing-women, who, like the courtezans of ancient Greece, are the votaries of pleasure, are taught every qualification which may tend to captivate and amuse the other sex. They compose a separate class, live under the protection of government, and according to their own particular rules.

In the code of Hindū laws and customs, it is said; “ If the property of a dancing-woman should by any circumstance become subject to seizure, the magistrate shall except her clothes, jewels, and dwelling. In the same manner, to a soldier shall be left his arms; and to a man exercising any profession, the implements of that profession; but the rest of his property may be confiscated.”

The dancing-women appear in a variety of dresses. Beside those already mentioned, they sometimes wear trowsers, like the Persians; a Jama of worked muslin, or gold or silver tissue; the hair plaited and hanging down behind, with spiral curls on

each side of the face ; and to the gold or silver rings on the ankles, in some of their dances they attach small bells of the same metals. The figures of the Bacchantes, which occur in some antique paintings, engravings, and sculptures, may serve to represent some of the dancing-women of India.

No religious ceremony, or festival of any kind, is thought to be performed with requisite propriety and magnificence, unless accompanied by dancing ; and every temple has a set of dancers belonging to it, which is more or less numerous, according to the importance and wealth of the foundation.

In a country of such vast extent of latitude, the complexion as well as the physical constitution of the people must be liable to variation ; those in the northern parts being fairer and more robust than those in the southern provinces. But the Hindū women, in general, are finely shaped, gentle in their manners, and have something soft and musical in their voices. Mr.

Forster, in his letter from Cashmire, dated in April, 1783, speaking of the women, says: " They have a bright olive complexion, fine features, and are delicately shaped. There is a pleasing freedom in their manners, without any tendency to immodesty, which seems the result of that confidence which the Hindū husbands in general repose in their wives." *

All Hindū families are governed by the male senior, to whom great respect is shewn; nor will a son sit down in the presence of his father, until commanded by him so to do. Mr. Forster observes, that in the course of his residence in India, and acquaintance with the Hindūs, he never knew an instance of direct undutifulness to parents.

In the code of Hindū laws, we find mention made of fire-arms; which, as the translator† observes, in records of such unfathomable antiquity, must cause a consi-

* Journey from Bengal to England, vol. i. p. 309.

† Mr. Halhed.

derable degree of surprise. The word in Sanskrit is *agny aster*,* or weapons of fire; and mention is also made of *shet-agny*, or the weapon that kills a hundred men at once, which is translated *cannon*. The Pooran Sastra ascribes the invention of these destructive engines to the divine artist Visvacarma,† who, according to Sir William Jones, is the Vulcan of the Hindūs.

In parts of India that never were frequented either by Mohammedans or Europeans, we have met with rockets, a weapon which the natives almost universally employ in war. The rocket consists of a tube of iron, about eight or ten inches long, and above an inch in diameter. It is filled in the same manner as an ordinary sky-rocket, and fastened towards the end of a piece of bamboo, scarcely as thick as an ordinary walking cane, and about five feet long, which is pointed with iron. At the upper end of the tube, or that towards the head of the shaft, is the match. The man who

* See vol. i. p. 116.

† Ibid, p. 117.

uses it, points the end of the shaft that is shod with iron, to the object to which he means to direct it; and, setting fire to the match, it goes off with great velocity. By the irregularity of its motion, it is difficult to be avoided, and sometimes acts with considerable effect, especially among cavalry, whom it throws into disorder.

Fire balls, or *blue lights*, employed occasionally in besieged places in the night, to observe the motions of besiegers, are, we believe, to be found in every part of Hindūstān, and in greater perfection than any that are made in Europe.* Fire-works seem to have been a principal article of amusement with the Hindūs from the earliest times, and are constantly used on occasions of rejoicing. The author does not, however, venture to affirm, that gunpowder, granulated, or such as is made at present, was known to the Hindūs before it was discovered by the Europeans; but it

* In France, lights of this kind used in fireworks, are named, *Bengalis*.

seems evident that they knew, not only much earlier than we did, but even when the Greeks became first acquainted with them, a composition that possessed its quality, of giving to bodies a projectile motion. Had they received the discovery of it from strangers, they would have received at the same time the weapons with which it is employed, and, in that case, would not have had recourse to the less ingenious invention of the rocket, though, being accustomed to this weapon, they may still continue to use it.

For *shet-agny*, we are at a loss to account, unless it mean those cavities which are found in some of the ancient fortresses, hewn in the solid rocks, and which some have supposed to have been formed for the purpose of throwing stones on besiegers, in the manner that shells are thrown from mortars.

Though chariots of war, we believe, are no longer to be met with, they are frequently mentioned in their ancient writings. "The horse, chariots, elephants, and infan-

try, are called *the four members of an army*. On each flank, the horse; on the two flanks of the horse, the chariots; on the two flanks of the chariots, the elephants, &c.”*

In the same article of the Hindū laws, by which poisoned weapons are forbidden, it is also said: “Nor shall he (meaning the prince) slay in war an eunuch, nor any person, who, putting his hands together, shall supplicate for quarter; nor any one who has no means of escape; nor any one who is sitting down; nor one who says, *I am become of your party*: nor any man who is asleep; nor any one who is naked;

* The Heetopades.

Quintus Curtius says: “*Summa virium in curribus: —Senos viros singuli vehebant; duos clypeatos, duos sagittarios ab utroque latere dispositos; cæteri aurigæ erant, haud sane inermes; quippe jacula complura, ubi cominus preliandum erat, omissis habenis, in hostem ingerebant. Cæterum vix ullus usus hujus auxilii eo die fuit. Namque, ut suprâ dictum est, imber violentius quam alias fusus, campos lubricos et inequitabiles fecerat: gravesque, et propemodum immobiles currus, illuvie et voraginibus hærebant.*” Qu. Curt. lib. viii. c. 14, tom. ii. pp. 147, 148.

nor any one who is not employed in war, or who is come to see the battle; nor any one whilst he is fighting with another; nor any one whose weapons are broken; nor any one who is fearful of the fight, and who runneth away." These humane injunctions, however, are but very rarely observed.

The venereal disease, that destructive enemy of the human race, is now to be met with, we believe, in most parts of Hindūstan; and it may be presumed from thence, that it may have existed there before the voyages of Columbus and Vesputius to the western hemisphere. Had it been carried into India by Europeans since the discovery of America, the epoch is so recent, and the evil so great, that in a country inhabited by an enlightened people, and in which there is a constant correspondence between the principal towns, the time when it appeared, and probably also the people by whom it was introduced, would have been marked and handed down to us. But, we apprehend, that no such tradition is to

be found. It is however, to be observed, that there is no Sanscrit word for this malady, which is universally expressed by using the Persian name *Atashac*.

When we observe how few and simple the utensils are, that are employed by the Hindū artisans of every kind, we are naturally surprised at the niceness and delicacy of some of their works, and the magnificence of others ; but these may be accounted for by the extreme attention and unwearied patience employed by them.

The weaver early in the morning sets up his loom under the shade of a tree, and takes it down in the evening. The fine muslins are indeed woven within doors, the thread being too delicate to support the agitation of the air ; but it is not uncommon to see near manufacturing villages, some of those stately groves with which India abounds, full of looms, employed in weaving the coarser cloths.

The silversmith sometimes works for daily hire, and then brings his whole apparatus to the house of the person who em-

employs him. He will imitate any thing that may be given to him; and some of their works in filigree are extremely delicate and curious.

The utensils of all the artisans and manufacturers partake of the same kind of simplicity.

Lacquering and gilding must have been long known to the Hindūs, and employed by them in various works of luxury and ornament. We find them in use all over India, China, and Japan; though, in some parts, the lacquering is in a greater degree of perfection than in others.*

In the towns and villages, not only every cast, but each class of artisans and manu-

* Bernier, speaking of the Cashmirians, says: " Ils font des Palckys, des bois de lit, des coffres, des écri-toires, des cassettes, des cuillers, et plusieurs autres sortes de petits ouvrages, qui ont une beauté toute particulière, et qui se distribuent par toutes les Indes. Ils savent y donner un vernis, et suivre et contrefaire si adroitement les veines d'un certain bois, qui en a de fort belles, y appliquant des filets d'or, qu'il n'y a rien de plus beau."—*Voyages de Bernier*.

facturers, has its own particular quarter for residence. The Chandalas, and all judged to be unclean by having been expelled from their casts, live in a quarter entirely separate from any other, nor dare they even pass through the streets that are inhabited by any of the pure casts.

Rice is the principal article of nourishment of all the natives ; and the first object of attention in the cultivation of it, is to have the soil plentifully supplied with water. If there be a scarcity of water, the harvest is scanty in proportion to it, and deficiency of rain at its usual season may produce a famine. In travelling through Hindŭstān, some opinion may be formed of the wisdom and benignity of the government, by the number, and state of preservation, of the tanks and water-courses.

The Hindūs, far from labouring to make proselytes to their religion, do not admit into it those who had been born in and professed any other faith. They say, that provided men perform their moral duties, in

abstaining from ill, and doing good to the utmost of their ability, it is but of little importance under what forms they worship God. That things suitable to one people may be unfit for another, and that to suppose that God prefers any one particular religion to the exclusion of others, and yet leaves numbers of his creatures ignorant of his will, is to accuse him of injustice, or question his omnipotence.*

* For further particulars in regard to the manners and customs of the Hindūs, as well as their religious ceremonies, we refer the reader to the work of Mr. Ward, already quoted, published in four volumes 4to. at Serampore in Bengal, 1811;—and also to that of Mr. Solvyns, begun to be published at Paris in 1808 in French and English, intituled, “*Les Hindous; ou Description de leurs Mœurs, Coutumes, et Cérémonies*. But we cannot help expressing a wish that Mr. Ward had, in the orthography of the names of places and persons, followed that of some of those celebrated authors who preceded him, adding afterwards, if he chose to do so, the orthography which he conceived to correspond more exactly with the original language. From not observing this rule, it would be difficult sometimes to conceive what place or person was meant, unless led to

it by preparatory circumstances; for example, when speaking of the famous temple in Orixá, written by Orme, &c. Jagarnaut, he writes *Jūgūanat-hu-Khsatra*, and that of Jambukishna on the island of Seringham, in the vicinity of Trichinopoly, he writes *Koombhūkonoy*.

CHAPTER XI.

ON THE LANGUAGES OF INDIA.

IN an Essay on the Languages of India, by Mr. H. T. Colebrooke,* he observes, that, in a treatise on rhetoric composed for the use of Manicya Chandra, Rajah of Tirhut, a brief enumeration of the languages used by the poets, is quoted from two authors on the art of poetry, in which they speak of the Sanscrita, Prācrita, Paisachi, and Māgadhi;—That the Paisachi seems to be a jargon which dramatic writers make use of in some low characters, but in reality, that only three languages are mentioned as such, namely, the Sanscrita, Prācrita and Māgadhi;—That the Sanscrita is

* Asiatic Researches, vol. vii. p. 199.

a most polished language, the inflexions of which, with all its numerous anomalies, are taught in grammatical institutes:—That the Prācrita is composed of what may be called provincial dialects, which are less refined and have a more imperfect grammar; that the Māgadhi, or Apabhrans'a, spoken by the vulgar, is destitute of regular rules; and that the languages used by the Hindūs in general, proceed from the three we have mentioned. In every part of that immense country, Sanscrit words are to be found in use, and all the names of ancient places are derived from it. This language continues to be cultivated by the learned Hindūs, as the language of science and literature; and is the repository of their laws, civil and religious. “It evidently derives its origin from a primeval tongue, which has been gradually refined, and some steps of its progress may even now be traced.” Like some other ancient languages it abounds in inflexions, but which, the author says, are more anomalous in it than in any other language he is acquainted

with, and among which he alludes to the Greek and Persian. It is now become what is termed a dead language, only known to those who may have particularly studied it, though it is probable that it was once almost in universal use throughout India.

“ The exquisitely refined system by which the grammar of Sanscrit is taught, has been mistaken for the refinement of the language itself. The rules have been supposed to be anterior to the practice, but this supposition is gratuitous. In Sanscrit, as in every other known tongue, grammarians have not invented etymology, but have only contrived rules to teach what was already established by approved practice. There is one peculiarity of Sanscrit compositions, which may also have suggested the opinion that it could never be a spoken language. I allude to what might be termed the euphonical orthography of Sanscrit. It consists in extending to syntax the rules for the permutation of letters in etymology. Similar rules for

avoiding incompatible sounds in compound terms exist in all languages ; this is sometimes effected by a deviation from orthography in the pronunciation of words, sometimes by altering one or more letters to make the spelling correspond with the pronunciation. These rules have been more profoundly investigated by Hindū grammarians than by those of any other nation, and they have completed a system of orthography which may be justly termed euphonical. They require all compound terms to be reduced to this standard.”— Sanscrit authors delight in compounds, some of them of an inordinate length, but “ in common speech this could never have been practised. None but well known compounds would be used by any speaker who wished to be understood ; such, indeed, is the present practice of those who still speak the Sanscrit language, and who deliver themselves with such fluency as is sufficient to prove that Sanscrit may in former times have been spoken with facility.”

“ Panini, the father of Sanscrit gram-

mar,* lived in so remote an age, that he ranks among those ancient sages whose fabulous history occupies a conspicuous place in the Puranas, or Indian theogonies.† The name is a patronymic, indicating his descent from Panin; but according to the Pauranic legends, he was grandson of Dévala, an inspired legislator. Whatever may be the true history of Panini, to him the Sutras, or succinct aphorisms of grammar, are attributed by universal consent. His system is grounded on a profound investigation of the analogies in both the regular

* A copy of the grammar of Panini, in the Devanagari character, is among the Sanscrit Manuscripts that were presented to the Royal Society of London by the late Sir William Jones.

† “ Every Purana treats of five subjects: the creation of the universe, its progress, and the renovation of worlds; the genealogy of gods and heroes; chronology, according to a fabulous system; and heroic history, containing the achievements of demi-gods and heroes. Since each Purana contains a cosmogony, with mythological and heroic history, the works which bear that title may not unaptly be compared to the Grecian Theogonies.”

and the anomalous inflexions of the Sanscrit language. He has combined those analogies in a very artificial manner ; and has thus compressed a most copious etymology into a very narrow compass. His precepts are, indeed, numerous, but they have been framed with the utmost conciseness ; and this great brevity is the result of very ingenious methods which have been contrived for this end, and for the purpose of assisting the student's memory. In Panini's system the mutual relation of all the parts, denotes, that it must have been completed by its author ; it certainly bears internal evidence of its having been accomplished by a single effort, and even the corrections, which are needed, cannot be interwoven with the text. It must not be hence inferred, that Panini was unaided by the labours of earlier grammarians ; in many of his precepts he cites the authority of his predecessors,* sometimes for a devi-

* " Sacalya, Gargya, Casyapa, Galava, Sacatayana, and others."

ation from a general rule, often for a grammatical canon which has universal cogency. He has even employed some technical terms without defining them; because, as his commentators remark, those terms were already introduced by earlier grammarians.* None of the more ancient works, however, seem to be now extant; being superseded by his, they have probably been disused for ages, and are now perhaps totally lost.

“ A performance such as the Paniniya grammar, must inevitably contain many errors. The task of correcting its inaccuracies has been executed by Catyayana, an inspired Saint and Law-giver; whose history, like that of all the Indian sages, is involved in the impenetrable darkness of mythology. His annotations, entitled Varticas, restrict those among the Paniniya rules which are too vague, enlarge others which are too limited, and mark numerous

* “ In a few instances he quotes former grammars to refute them.”

exceptions which had escaped the notice of Panini himself." The studied brevity of Panini rendered him often obscure, which led to numerous commentaries, some of which are mentioned by Mr. Colebrooke. One of them, a most voluminous work, known now by the title of *Mahābhāshya*, or the great commentary, "is ascribed to Patanjali,* a fabulous personage, to whom mythology has assigned the shape of a serpent.† In this commentary every rule is examined at great length. All possible interpretations are proposed; and the true sense and import of the rule are deduced through a tedious train of argument, in which all possible objections are considered and refuted; and the wrong interpretations of the text, with all the arguments which

* Copies of two commentaries, one, that of Patanjali, the other by Catyayana, are also among the manuscripts presented to the Royal Society as above mentioned.

† The serpent in India, as with the Egyptians, Greeks, &c. is one of the symbols of wisdom and science.

can be invented to support them, are obviated or exploded."

"Voluminous as it is, the Mahābhāshya has not exhausted the subject on which it treats. Its deficiencies have been supplied by the annotations of modern grammarians. The most celebrated amongst these scholiasts of the Bhashya, is Caiyata, a learned Cashmirian. His annotations are almost equally copious with the commentary itself. Yet they too are loaded by numerous glosses; among which the old and new Vivaranas are most esteemed." Besides this, several other commentators exercised their ingenuity in explaining the Mahābhāshya. "Such vast works as the Mahābhāshya and its scholia, with the voluminous annotations on the catalogue of verbs, are not adapted for general instruction. A more concise commentary must have been always requisite. The best that is now extant is entitled the *Casica Vritti*, or commentary composed at Varanasi. The anonymous author of it, in a short

preface, explains his design: ‘to *gather the essence of a science dispersed in the early commentaries, in the Bhashya, in copious dictionaries of verbs and of nouns, and in other works.*’ He has well fulfilled the task which he undertook. His gloss explains in perspicuous language the meaning and application of each rule: he adds examples, and quotes, in their proper places, the necessary emendations from the Varticas and Bhashya. Though he never deviates into frivolous disquisitions, nor into tedious reasoning, but expounds the text as succinctly as is consistent with perspicuity, his work is nevertheless voluminous; and yet, copious as it is, the commentaries on it, and the annotations on its commentaries, are still more voluminous. Amongst the most celebrated is the Padamanjari of Harádatta Misra; a grammarian whose authority is respected almost equally with that of the author, on whose text he comments. The annotators on this again are numerous; but it would be useless to insert a long list

of their names, or of the titles of their works.

“ Excellent as the *Casica Vritti* undoubtedly is, it partakes of the defects which have been imputed to Panini’s text. Following the same order, in which the original rules are arranged, it is well adapted to assist the student in acquiring a critical knowledge of the Sanscrit tongue ; but for one who studies the rudiments of the language, a different arrangement is requisite, for the sake of bringing into one view the rules which must be remembered in the inflexions of one word, and those which must be combined even for a single variation of a single term. Such a grammar has been compiled within a few centuries past by Ramachandra, an eminent grammarian. It is entitled *Pracriyacaumudi*. The rules are Panini’s, and the explanation of them is abridged from the ancient commentaries ; but the arrangement is wholly different. It proceeds from the elements of writing to definitions ; thence to orthography : it af-

terwards exhibits the inflexions of nouns according to case, number, and gender; notices the indeclinables, and proceeds to the uses of the cases: it subjoins the rules of opposition, by which compound terms are formed; the etymology of patronymics and other derivatives from nouns; and the reduplication of particles, &c. In the second part, it treats of the conjugation of verbs arranged in ten classes: to these primitives succeed derivative verbs, formed from verbal roots, or from nouns. The rules concerning different voices follow: they are succeeded by precepts regarding the use of the tenses; and the work concludes with the etymology of verbal nouns, gerunds, supines, and participles. A supplement to it contains the anomalies of the dialect, in which the Veda is composed."

The Hindūs delight in scholastic disputation. Their grammarians indulge this propensity as much as their lawyers and their sophists. Bhattoji Dicshita has provided an ample store of controversy in an argumentative commentary on his own

grammar. This work is entitled, *Pranta menorama*. He also composed a very voluminous commentary on the eight lectures of Panini, and gave it the title of *Sabda Caustubha*."

"The best and most esteemed vocabulary is the *Amera cosha*.* The bigotry of Sancar Acharya spared this, when he proscribed the other works of Amara Sinha. Like most other Sanscrit dictionaries, it is arranged in verse, to aid the memory. Synonymous words are collected into one or more verses, and placed in fifteen different chapters, which treat of as many different subjects. The *sixteenth*† contains a few homonymous terms, arranged alphabetically in the Indian manner by the final consonants. The seventeenth chapter is a pretty full catalogue of indeclinables, which

* The Treasure of Amara. This book was printed at Serampore, in 1808, with an English interpretation and annotations by H. T. Colebrooke.

† See the fourth chapter of the third book of the Serampore edition.

European philologists would call adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, and interjections; but which Sanscrit grammarians consider as indeclinable nouns. The last chapter of the *Amera cosha*, is a treatise on the gender of nouns. Another vocabulary by the same author is often cited by his commentators, under the title of *Ameramala*. Numerous commentaries have been written on the *Amera cosha*. The chief object of them is to explain the derivations of the nouns, and to supply the principal deficiencies of the text."

"The *Amera cosha*, gives a very incomplete list of words that have various acceptations. This defect is well supplied by the *Medini*, a dictionary so named from its author *Medinicar*. It contains words that bear many senses, arranged in alphabetical order by the final consonants; and a list of homonymous indeclinables is subjoined to it. A similar dictionary, compiled by *Ma-heswara*, and entitled *Viswapracasa*,* is

* See Jones's Oriental MSS. No. 44, and the Manu-

much consulted, though it be very defective, as has been justly remarked by Medicar. It contains, however, a very useful appendix on words spelt more than one way; and another, on letters which are liable to be confounded, such as *v* and *b*; and another again, on the gender of nouns. These subjects are not separately treated by Medicar; but he has on the other hand specified the genders with great care in the body of the work."

"Amera's dictionary does not contain more than ten thousand different words. Yet the Sanscrit language is very copious. The insertion of derivatives, that do not at all deviate from their regular and obvious import, has been very properly deemed superfluous. Compound epithets, and

scripts in the Royal Library at Paris, No. cii.—See also the Catalogue of Sanscrit Manuscripts in that Library, by Messieurs Alexander Hamilton, (Member of the Asiatic Society at Calcutta, and now Professor at the East India College in Hertfordshire) and L. Langlès, (Member of the *Institute of France*, and keeper of the Oriental Manuscripts in the Royal Library,) p. 78.

other compound terms, in which the Sanscrit language is peculiarly rich, are likewise omitted; excepting such as are especially appropriated, by a limited acceptance, either as titles of deities, or as names of plants, animals, &c. In fact compound terms are formed at pleasure, according to the rules of grammar; and must generally be interpreted in strict conformity with those rules. Technical terms too are mostly excluded from general dictionaries, and consigned to separate nomenclatures. The Ameracosh then is less defective than might be inferred from the small number of words explained in it. Still, however, it needs a supplement. The Haravali may be used as such. It is a vocabulary of uncommon words, compiled by Purushottama, the author of an etymological work, and also of a little collection of monograms, entitled Ecacshara."

"The remaining deficiencies of the Ameracosh are supplied by consulting other dictionaries and vocabularies; such as Helayudha's, Vachespatis, the Dharanicosha,

or some other. Sanscrit dictionaries are indeed very numerous.”—The learned author of this article, after mentioning several of them, adds : “ the school of Benares now uses the *Siddhanta caumudi*, and other works of Bhattoji, as the same school formerly did the *Casica Vritti*.* The *Pracriya caumudi*, with its commentaries, maintains its ground among the learned of Mithila, or Tirhut. In both places, however, and indeed throughout India, the Mahābhāshya continues to be the standard of Sanscrit grammar. It is therefore studied by all who are ambitious of acquiring a critical knowledge of the language.”†

* This grammatical treatise was printed at Serampore, in 1811, with Devanagari types, but without translation or notes.

† On referring to the article in the *Asiatic Researches*, (vol. iv. p. 199, et. seq.) whence the preceding extract is taken, the reader will find many of these and other works on language mentioned and explained.

A printing press has been established at Calcutta, for the purpose of printing works in the Indian and Oriental languages in general. The printing Sanscrit, and

From what has been hinted respecting the proscription of the works of Amera Sinha, author of the Amera-cosha, it may be expected that the cause of that proscrip-

other Hindū languages, was committed to the care of learned Pundits, who were furnished with complete founts of Deva-Nagari types in different sizes. Early in 1808, a Sanscrit Dictionary, composed from the best authorities, was printed. It contains the etymology of terms, with an interpretation of them, together with examples from classical writers; and afterwards another Dictionary in Sanscrit and English was composed, the Sanscrit after the text of the Amera Cosha, the English, an exact translation of it, with notes; both by Mr. Colebrooke.*

At the College of Calcutta the Sanscrit is studied as the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, in the Colleges of Europe; the Mahratta, Hindūstane, Bengalee, Persian, and Arabic, as the languages still in use. Disputations are held in all these; discourses are pronounced in them, and prizes annually bestowed on those, who may have been judged to have merited them. This noble and useful institution was originally instituted by the Marquis of Wellesley, when he was governor-general of India; and we earnestly hope that it will continue to be liberally supported and encouraged.

* See discourse of the Governor-General, Lord Minto, to the College of Calcutta, 2d March, 1808.

tion should be explained. It appears that he was an eminent poet, and one of nine who were called the gems of the court of Vicramaditya. “ Unfortunately, Amara held the tenets of a heterodox sect; and his poems are said to have perished in the persecutions fomented by intolerant philosophers* against the persons and writings of both the Jainas and Bauddhas.”†

We understand that most of the alphabets of India, though they differ in the shape of their letters, agree in their numbers, powers, and systematical disposition, and are capable of expressing the Sanscrit as well as their own particular language; but the ancient writings, we believe, are chiefly in the character called Déva-nagari, so named by way of pre-eminence.‡

* Instead of philosophers we presume priests are meant.

† See a farther account of this circumstance, in a note to *Asiat. Res.* vol. vii. p. 214.

‡ See Catalogue of Sanscrit manuscripts presented to the Royal Society of London. (Sir W. Jones’s Works, vol. xiii. p. 401, and seq.) The reader, on referring to

It affords much curious reflection, when we consider that the Sanscrit language must have existed in the copious and refined state that has been described, at a period so very remote from us. The nice and intimate knowledge which Sir William Jones possessed of the Greek and Latin languages and literature, is universally allowed by those who knew him, and who were competent to judge of the subject. His knowledge and taste as a scholar, were celebrated at Oxford, even in the early part of

that catalogue, may obtain much curious information. Examples will be found of several species of Indian literature. The manuscript No. 50, intituled *Has-yarnava*, or the sea of laughter, is a farce, by a poet named Jagadiswara : *it is*, says Jones, *a bitter satire on kings and their servants, and on priests, who are represented as vicious hypocrites.* To have written thus freely upon such very nice subjects, and especially to produce them on the stage, announces a degree of toleration that we should not have expected to have met with.—In a note on a poem in the Devanagari character, entitled *Vrihatcatha*, by an author named Somadeva, Sir Wm. Jones observes : “ This poet resembles Ariosto, but even surpasses him in eloquence.”

his life.—We have had occasion to observe, that the Sanscrit language had become as easy and familiar to him as either of the two other languages we have here mentioned; and, when speaking of the Sanscrit, he observes, “ Whatever be its antiquity, it is of a wonderful structure; more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either, yet bearing to both of them a strong affinity both in the roots of verbs, and in the forms of grammar.”—In his preface to the translation of the Sanscrit drama, named *Sacontala*, or the *Fatal Ring*, by the poet *Calidasa*, he further remarks: “ I began with translating it verbally into Latin, which bears so great resemblance to the Sanscrit, that it is more convenient than any other modern language for a scrupulous interlineary version. I then turned it into English.

Mr. Halhed, in his preface to his translation of the *Code of Hindū Laws*, observes that the Sanscrit is at the same time copious and nervous, that it far exceeds the

Greek and Arabic in the regularity of its etymology, and that the style of the best authors in it, is wonderfully concise. And in the preface to his Grammar of the Bengal language, published in 1778, he adds : “ The grand source of Indian literature, the parent of almost every dialect, from the Persian gulph to the China seas, is the Sanscrit ; a language of the most venerable and unfathomable antiquity ; which, although at present shut up in the libraries of Brahmins, and appropriated solely to the records of their religion, appears to have been current over most of the oriental world ; and traces of its original extent may still be discovered in almost every district of Asia. I have been astonished to find the similitude of Sanscrit words with those of Persian and Arabic, and even of Latin and Greek : and these not in technical and metaphorical terms, which the mutuati-
on of refined arts and improved manners might have occasionally introduced ; but in the main ground-work of language, in monosyllables, in the names of numbers, and the

appellations of such things as would be first discriminated on the immediate dawn of civilization. The resemblance which may be observed in the characters upon the medals and signets of various districts of Asia, the light which they reciprocally reflect upon each other, and the general analogy which they all bear to the same grand prototype, afford another ample field for curiosity. The coins of Assam, Nepaul, Cashmire, and many other kingdoms, are all stamped with Sanscrit letters, and mostly contain allusions to the old Sanscrit mythology :* the same conformity I have observed on the impressions of seals from Boutan and Tibet. A collateral inference may likewise be deduced from the peculiar arrangement of the Sanscrit alphabet, so very different from that of any other quar-

* What Mr. Halhed observes, in regard to coins, does not ascertain the antiquity of money in Asia ; coins may undoubtedly be found with Sanscrit inscriptions on them, and now intitled to be called ancient, though probably of dates subsequent to the first use of money with the Greeks.

ter of the world. This extraordinary mode of combination still exists in the greatest part of the east, from the Indus to Pegu, in dialects now apparently unconnected, and in characters completely dissimilar; but is a forcible argument that they are all derived from the same source. Another channel of speculation presents itself in the names of persons and places, of titles and dignities, which are open to general notice, and in which, to the farthest limits of Asia, may be found manifest traces of the Sanscrit.”*

“ Dramatic poetry must have been immemorially ancient in the Indian empire: the invention of it is commonly ascribed to Bheret, a sage, believed to have been inspired, who invented also a system of music, which bears his name; but this opinion of its origin is rendered very doubtful by the universal belief, that the first Sanscrit verse, ever heard by mortals, was pronounced in a burst of resentment by the great Valmic;

* Halhed's Gram. of the Bengal Lang. Pref. p. iii. iv.

who flourished in the silver age of the world, and was author of the epic poem on the war of his contemporary, Rama, king of Ayodhyà.”

“ A modern epigram was lately repeated to me, which does so much honour to the author of Sacontalá, that I cannot forbear exhibiting a literal version of it: *Poetry was the sportful daughter of Valmic, and, having been educated by Vyasa, she chose Calidas for her bridegroom, after the manner of Viderbha: she was the mother of Amara, Sundar, Sanc’ha, Dhanic; but now, old and decrepit, her beauty faded, and her unadorned feet slipping as she walks, in whose cottage does she disdain to take shelter?*”

“ All the other works of this illustrious poet, the Shakspeare of India, that have yet come to my knowledge, are a second play, in five acts, entitled *Urvasi*;* an

* *Urvasi Vicrama*, or the Heroism of *Urvasi*, is to be found in the Royal Library at Paris, No. 85.—In the Catalogue of Sanscrit Manuscripts, above referred to, it is said: “ *Ourvâsi Vikrama* (l’Heroisme d’*Ourvâsi*,) pöeme Samskrit, par Kâlidâsa, en Samskrit et en Pra-

heroic poem, or rather a series of poems in one book, on the Children of the Sun; another, with perfect unity of action, on the Birth of Cumara, god of war; two or three love tales in verse; and an excellent little work on Sanscrit Metre, precisely in the manner of Terentianus;* but he is believed by some to have revised the works of Valmic and Vyasa, and to have corrected the perfect editions of them which are now current: this at least is admitted by all, that he stands next in reputation to those venerable bards; and we must regret, that he has left only two dramatic poems, especially as the stories in his Raghuvansa would have supplied him with a number of excellent subjects.—Some of his contemporaries, and other Hindū poets, even to our own times, have composed so many tragedies, comedies, farces, and musical pieces,

krit. C'est une suite de pöeme sur les enfans du soleil, en forme de dialogues, ce qui fait une espèce de drame en cinq actes."

* Terentianus Maurus was the author of a poem, "De literis, syllabis, pedibus, et metris."

that the Indian theatre would fill as many volumes as that of any nation in ancient or modern Europe: all the Pandits assert that their plays are innumerable; and, on my first inquiries concerning them, I had notice of more than thirty, which they consider as the flower of their Natacs; among which, the Malignant Child, the Rape of Usha, the Taming of Durvasas, the Seizure of the Lock, Malati and Madhava, with five or six dramas on the adventures of their incarnate gods, are the most admired after those of Calidas. They are in verse, where the dialogue is elevated; and in prose, where it is familiar; the men of rank and learning are represented speaking pure Sanscrit, and the women Pracrit, which is little more than the language of the Brahmins melted down by a delicate articulation to the softness of Italian; while the low persons of the drama speak the vulgar dialects of the several provinces which they are supposed to inhabit.

“ The play of Sacontalá must have been very popular when it was first represented;

for the Indian empire was then in full vigour, and the national vanity must have been highly flattered by the magnificent introduction of those kings and heroes in whom the Hindūs gloried; the scenery must have been splendid and beautiful; and there is good reason to believe, that the court at Avanti* was equal in brilliancy during the reign of Vicramaditya, to that of any monarch in any age or country. Dushmanta, the hero of the piece, appears in the chronological tables of the Brahmins among the children of the moon, and in the twenty-first generation after the flood; so that, if we can at all rely on the chronology of the Hindūs, he was nearly contemporary with Obed, or Jesse; and Puru, his most celebrated ancestor, was the fifth in descent from Buddha, or Mercury, who married, they say, a daughter of the pious king, whom Vishnu preserved in an ark from the universal deluge: his eldest son Bheret was the illustrious progenitor of

* Now named Oujein, see p. 3 of this volume.

Curu, from whom Pándu was lineally descended, and in whose family the Indian Apollo became incarnate; whence the poem, next in fame to the Ramayan, is called Mahabharat.”*

“The Pracrita, or second class of Indian languages,” (says Mr. Colebrooke) “comprehends the written dialects which are now used in the intercourse of civil life, and which are cultivated by lettered men. The author of a passage already quoted, includes all such dialects under the general denomination of Pracrit: but this term is commonly restricted to one language, namely to the *Saraswati bala bani*, or the speech of children on the banks of the Saraswati, or youthful speech of Saraswati. There is reason to believe that ten polished dialects formerly prevailed in as many different civilized nations, who occupied all the fertile provinces of Hindūstān and the Dekhan. Evident traces of them still exist. They shall be noticed in the order

* Works of Sir W. Jones, vol. ix. p. 367, et seq.

in which these Hindū nations are usually enumerated.”

“The Sareswata was a nation which occupied the banks of the river Saraswati. Brahmanas, who are still distinguished by the name of their nation, inhabit chiefly the Panjab or Panchanada, west of the river from which they take their appellation. Their original language may have once prevailed through the southern and western parts of Hindūstān proper, and is probably the idiom to which the name of Pracrit is generally appropriated. This has been more cultivated than any other among the dialects which will be here enumerated, and it occupies a principal place in the dialogue of most dramas. Many beautiful poems composed wholly in this language, or intermixed with stanzas of pure Sanscrit, have perpetuated the memory of it, though perhaps it may have long ceased to be a vernacular tongue. Grammars have been compiled for the purpose of teaching this language and its prosody, and several treatises of rhetoric have

been written to illustrate its beauties. The *Pracrita Manorama* and *Pracrita Pingala* are instances of the one, and the *Saraswati Cantabharana* of *Bhojadeva*, may be named as an example of the other, although both Sanscrit and Pracrit idioms furnish the examples with which that author elucidates his precepts."

"The *Canyacubjas* possessed a great empire, the metropolis of which was the ancient city of *Canyacubja* or *Canoge*. Theirs seems to be the language which forms the ground-work of modern *Hindūstane*, and which is known by the appellation of *Hindi* or *Hindevi*. Two dialects of it may be easily distinguished, one more refined, the other less so. To this last the name of *Hindi* is sometimes restricted, while the other is often confounded with *Pracrit*. Numerous poems have been composed in both dialects, not only before the *Hindūstane* was ingrafted on the *Hindi* by a large intermixture of *Persian*, but also in very modern times, by *Mohammedan* as well as *Hindū* poets. On examination,

the affinity of Hindi with the Sanscrit language is peculiarly striking; and no person acquainted with both can hesitate in affirming that Hindi is chiefly borrowed from Sanscrit. Many words, the etymology of which shews them to be the purest Sanscrit, are received unaltered; many more undergo no change but that of making the final vowel silent; a still greater number exhibits no other difference than what arises from the uniform permutation of certain letters; the rest too, with comparatively few exceptions, may be easily traced to a Sanscrit origin. Pracrit and Hindi books are commonly written in the Devanagari; but a corrupt writing, called Nagari, is used by Hindūs in all common transactions where Hindi is employed by them; and a still more corrupted one, wherein vowels are for the most part omitted, is employed by bankers and others in mercantile transactions.”

“ Gaura, or, as it is commonly called, Bengalah, or Bengali, is the language spoken in the provinces, of which the an-

cient city of Gaur was once the capital ; it still prevails in all the provinces of Bengal, excepting, perhaps, some frontier districts, but is said to be spoken in its greatest purity in the eastern parts only ; and, as there spoken, contains few words which are not evidently derived from Sanscrit. This dialect has not been neglected by learned men. Many Sanscrit poems have been translated, and some original poems have been composed in it : learned Hindūs, in Bengal, speak it almost exclusively ; verbal instruction in sciences is communicated through this medium, and even public disputations are conducted in this dialect. Instead of writing it in the Devanagari, as the Pracrit and Hindevi are written, the inhabitants of Bengal have adopted a peculiar character, which is nothing else but Devanagari, deformed for the sake of expeditious writing. Even the learned amongst them employ this character for the Sanscrit language, the pronunciation of which too they in like manner degrade to the Bengali standard.—Although Gaura be

the name of Bengal, yet the Brahmanas, who bear that appellation, are not inhabitants of Bengal but of Hindūstān proper. They reside chiefly in the Suba of Delhi; while the Brahmanas of Bengal are avowed colonists from Canoj. It is difficult to account for this contradiction. The Gaura Brahmanas allege a tradition, that their ancestors migrated in the days of the Pandavas, at the commencement of the present Cali Yuga.”*

“ Maithila, or Tirhutiya, is the language used in Mithila, that is, in the Sircar of Tirhut, and in some adjoining districts, limited however by the rivers Cusi and

* “ Great affinity appears between the manners and practices of the Brahminas and those Gymnosophists of Ethiopia, who settled near the sources of the Nile; and, according to Philostrates, they were descended from the Brahmins. He says, the Gymnosophists of Ethiopia came from India, having been driven from thence for the murder of their king near the Ganges.”—*Philost. Vit. Apol.* c. 6.—“ Sketches of the Hindūs,” by the author of the present work, vol. i. Sketch x. p. 255.

Gandhac, and by the mountains of Nepal : it has great affinity with Bengali ; and the character in which it is written differs little from that which is employed throughout Bengal. In Tirhut too, the learned write Sanscrit in the Tirhutiya character, and pronounce it after their own inelegant manner. The dialect of Mithila has no extensive use, and does not appear to have been at any time cultivated by elegant poets."

" Utcala, or Odradesa, is co-extensive with the Suba of Oresa, extending from Medinipur to Manacapattana, and from the sea to Sammall-pur. The language of this province, and the character in which it is written, are both called Uriya.* So far as a judgment can be formed from imperfect specimens of this language, it contains many Sanscrit words variously corrupted."

" The five Hindū nations, whose pecu-

* From the name of the province of Orisa, or as it is generally called, Orixia.

liar dialects have been thus briefly noticed, occupy the northern and eastern portions of India; they are denominated the five Gaurs. The rest, called the five Dravirs; inhabit the southern and western parts of the peninsula. Some Pandits indeed exclude Carnata, and substitute Casmira; but others, with more propriety, omit the Cashmirian tribe; and, by adding the Canaras to the list of Dravirs, avoid the inconsistency of placing a northern tribe among southern nations. There is reason too for doubting whether Cashmira be occupied by a distinct nation, and whether the inhabitants of it be not rather a tribe of Canyacubjas.

“ Dravira is the country which terminates the peninsula of India. Its northern limits appear to lie between the twelfth and thirteenth degrees of north latitude. The language of the province is the Tamul, to which Europeans have given the name of Malabar, from Malay-war, a province of Dravira. They have similarly corrupted the true name of the dialect into Tamul,

Tamulic, and Tamulian :* but the word, as pronounced by the natives, is Tamla, or Tamalah ; and this seems to indicate a derivation from Tamra, or Tamraparni, a river of note, which waters the southern Mathura, situated within the limits of Dravir. The provincial dialect is written in a character which is greatly corrupted from the parent Devanagari, but which nevertheless is used by the Brahmins of Dravir in writing the Sanscrit language. After carefully inspecting a grammar published by Mr. Drummond at Bombay, and a dictionary by the missionaries at Madras, I can venture to pronounce that the Tamla contains many Sanscrit words, either unaltered or little changed, with others more corrupted, and a still greater number of doubtful origin.

* “ The Romish and Protestant missionaries, who have published dictionaries and grammars of this dialect, refer to another language, which they denominate *Grandam*, and *Grandonicum*. It appears that Sanscrit is meant, and the term thus corrupted by them is, *Grant'ha*, a volume or book.”

“ The Maharashtra, or Mahratta, is the language of a nation which has in the present century* greatly enlarged its ancient limits. If any inference may be drawn from the name of the character in which the language is written, the country occupied by this people was formerly called *Muru*; for the peculiar corruption of the Devanagari, which is employed by the Maharashtra in common transactions, is denominated by them *Mur*. Their books, it must be remarked, are commonly written in Devanagari. The Mahratta nation was formerly confined to a mountainous tract, situated south of the river Nermada, and extending to the province of Cocan. Their language is now more widely spread, but is not yet become the vernacular dialect of provinces situated far beyond the ancient bounds of their country. Like other Indian tongues, it contains much pure Sanscrit.†

* Meaning the 18th century.

† See grammar and dictionary of the Mahratta lan-

“ Carnata, or Carnara, is the ancient language of Carnataca, a province which has given name to districts on both coasts of the peninsula. This dialect still prevails in the intermediate mountainous tract, but seems to be superseded by other provincial tongues on the eastern coast. A peculiar character, formed from the Devanagari, but like the Tamla, much corrupted from it through the practice of writing on palm-leaves with an iron style, is called by the same name with the language of Carnatic.

Tailanga, Télingah, or Tilanga, is at once the name of a nation, of its language, and of the character in which that language is written. Though the province of Telingana alone retain the name in the published maps of India, yet the adjacent provinces on either bank of Crishna and Godaveri, and those situated on the north-eastern coast of the peninsula, are undoubtedly comprehended within the ancient limits of Tilanga,

guage, published at Serampore in Bengal, by Dr. Carey.

and are inhabited chiefly by people of this tribe. The language too is widely spread : and many circumstances indicate that the Tailangas formerly occupied a very extensive tract, in which they still constitute the principal part of the population. The character, in which they write their own language, is taken from Devanagari, and the Tailanga Brahmins employ it in writing the Sanscrit tongue, from which the Tailanga idiom is said to have borrowed more largely than other dialects used in the south of India. This language appears to have been cultivated by poets, if not by prose writers, for the Tailangas possess many compositions in their own provincial dialect, some of which are said to record the ancient history of the country."

" The people of Gurjara, or Guzerat, use a language, named from the country Gurjura, which is nearly allied to the Hindi, while the character in which it is written conforms almost exactly with the vulgar Nagari. The limits of Gurjara, or as it is found named by some European au-

thors, the *kingdom of Guzerat*, is supposed anciently to have included Candesh and Malwa.*

In the languages denominated Magadhi and Apabhhransa,† “are comprehended all those dialects which are generally known by the common appellation of Bhasha, or *speech*. This term, as employed by all philologists, from Panini down to the present professors of grammar, does, indeed, signify the popular dialect of Sanscrit, in contradistinction to the obsolete dialect of the Veda; but in common acceptation, Bhasha denotes any of the modern vernacular dialects of India, especially such as are corrupted from the Sanscrit: these are very numerous.‡

* With respect to the modern geography of India, we have in general adhered to the Map and Memoir of Rennell, except in a few instances where some late surveys differ from him in regard to the exact latitude and longitude, though these differences are not material.

† See p. 161, of this volume.

‡ Asiat. Res. vol. vii. p. 199, et seq. Art. by Mr. H. T. Colebrooke.

In a future article,* on Sanscrit and Pra-crit poetry, Mr. Colebrooke gives numerous examples of it from different authors, to which he adds Synoptical Tables. In this article he says, the Sanscrit will be found in prosody to be richer than any other known language: in variations of metre to be regulated either by quantity or by number of syllables, both with and without rhyme, and subject to laws imposing, in some instances, rigid restrictions, in others, allowing ample latitude.

The tenth volume of the Asiatic Researches, contains an Essay on the *Literature and Languages of the Indo-Chinese Nations*, by Dr. J. Leyden. By Indo-Chinese nations, Dr. Leyden means the countries situated between the peninsula of India and China, including, besides those on the continent, the various islands that are interspersed in the eastern seas. The erudition displayed by the author, and his extensive knowledge of philology, seem to

* Asiat. Res. vol. x. p. 389.

have rendered him peculiarly adapted to this inquiry.* His materials for it, he observes, were principally collected during a voyage he undertook for the benefit of his health, during which he resided some time at the island of Penang, visited the Malayan coast, and Achin and other places on the island of Sumatra. In the *Indo-Chinese* countries, the people inhabiting the peninsula of Malacca, and the coasts of the various islands, generally profess the

* “ An attentive consideration of the languages spoken by the civilized nations of the old continent, enabled Sir William Jones to trace the whole to three families, the Arabian, the Indian, and the Tartar. Many he determined with certainty, and with perfect conviction to himself and to his readers. These, we will venture to predict, every future inquiry will only serve to confirm. Others were confessedly deduced from probable grounds, and plausible conjectures: their validity remains to be confirmed or disproved by subsequent researches; and that eminent scholar would have been the first to applaud this able attempt to illustrate the subject, however it might militate against his preconceived opinions.”—*Edinburgh Review for August, 1810*, vol. xvi. pp. 390, 391.

tenets of Mohammed, to which they were converted some ages ago, by adventurers from Arabia. All others, except some rude tribes of mountaineers, profess the Hindū religion, but adhere almost entirely to the tenets of Buddha. Dr. Leyden observes that this religion identifies itself in all its principal features, with that which prevails in Nepal, Butan, and Tibet, and has even extended itself over the immense regions of Chin, Cham, Japuen, China, Tartary, and Japan. It does not appear that all the nations, who occupy this extensive region, employ only one language for their sacred writings and laws as the Hindūs of the peninsula do; yet what he terms the *Indo-Chinese*, and also the inhabitants of Ceylon, uniformly employ for this purpose the Pali, or, as it is more generally named, the Bali language, and he observes that though the use of the Bali seems to be confined to religious and scientific subjects, it is nevertheless to be traced through all the spoken languages of the *Indo-Chinese* nations.

It appears that the Malays had a commer-

cial intercourse at a very remote period, with that part of the coast of India, now named by Europeans the *Northern Circars*.* But the Javanese, from whom Dr. Leyden supposes the Malays to have received their first instruction in religion and learning, appear to have had an earlier and more ex-

* The Circars are the provinces named Cicacole, Rajahmundry, Ellore, Mustaphanagur, and Moortazanagur, or Guntour; and in them may also be included the districts of Masulipatam, extending along the coast between the provinces of Rajahmundry and Guntour. A branch of the river Krishna flows into the sea close to the fortress of Masulipatam; its principal mouth is about thirty miles to the south of that city. The low parts of the country between the branch and its parent stream, is, in the rainy season, sometimes entirely overflowed; the villages, which are purposely placed on rising spots, appearing on those occasions like islands rising above the water. Such inundations from great rivers are very frequent in India. The Gaudavery, when the river is full, washes the walls of the fort of Rajahmundry, a grand picturesque site; then proceeding in an easterly course, it disembogues itself into the sea at Narsapour, Yanam, and point Gaudavery. Both the Krishna and Gaudavery are considered as sacred rivers by the Hindūs.

tensive communication with India than the Malays. That maritime commerce was practised in India in very remote times appears evidently by that article in the laws of Menu, we have already mentioned, where, in limiting the interest of money to certain rates, an exception is made for money lent on bottomry.*

“ The Malay language, and the more original languages of the eastern isles, seem in their formation, to have been polysyllabic like Sanscrit, Pali, and the spoken dialects of India. The modifications which these languages have received from a foreign source, seem for the most part, to have been effected, rather by the immediate agency of Sanscrit than of Pali; though the influence of this latter is not to be entirely excluded. But several of them have been a second time modified, by the introduction of Arabic,” which became the language of religion and learning, of such as were converted to the Mohammedan

* See vol. i. p. 35, *supra*.

faith.—“ These languages are all prodigiously varied by accentuation, like the spoken languages of China.”*

“ The Malayu language is obviously indebted to two foreign sources, for the majority of the vocables which compose it,” namely, the Sanscrit in remote times, and afterwards the Arabic.†

“ The connexion between the Sanscrit and Malayu was first remarked by Sir W. Jones; and Mr. Marsden has confirmed

* “ The *Indo-Chinese* languages may be considered in the following order :

Polysyllabic languages.

1. Malayu.
2. Jawa.
3. Bugis.
4. Bima.
5. Batta.
6. Gala, or Tagala.

Monosyllabic languages.

7. Rukheng.
8. Barma.
9. Mon.
10. Thay.
11. Khohmen.
12. Law.
13. Anam.”

† “ Je crois que la base du Malay est monosyllabique; en effet on y trouve un grand nombre de mots d'origine Chinoise; les mots Sanskrits et Arabes ont été introduits, à mesure que les Malais ont successivement adopté le Brahmanisme et l'Islamisme.”—*Langlès*.

the fact, by about fifteen examples, selected, as he says, with little pains, from a Malay dictionary ; which, had he been acquainted with the Sanscrit language, he might with very little labour, have extended to fifteen hundred, or, perhaps, five thousand. Many of the Sanscrit words in the Malayu, he observes, are such as the progress of civilization must soon have rendered necessary, being frequently expressive of mental feelings, or such modes of thinking as naturally result from the social habits of mankind, or from the evils which tend to interrupt them. Many of the names of the common objects of sensation are also of Sanscrit origin ; nevertheless, the simplest part of the Malayu language, and that which is most indispensable to its existence as a distinct tongue, is certainly not derived from the Sanscrit."

" Marsden has mentioned a peculiarity, in which Arabic vocables, adopted by the Malayu, differ from adopted Sanscrit terms. While the Arabic words retain their peculiar and harsh pronunciation, those of San-

scrit origin are softened down, and assimilated with the rest of the language. This observation must likewise be taken with many limitations; for numerous words, of Arabic origin, are so completely assimilated to the Malayu pronunciation, that they are no longer capable of being recognized, even by a native Arab, unless by attention to their radicals."

"He has likewise hazarded an opinion, that the polish, which the Malayu has derived from Sanscrit, or Hinduvi, has been obtained immediately from the natives of Guzerat, previous to the debasement of the genuine Hinduvi of the northern provinces, by the mixture of Arabic nouns, and the abuse of verbal auxiliaries. The resort of the people of Guzerat to Malaua, he adds, *is particularly noticed by De Barros,* and*

* Jean De Barros, a Portuguese in the court of Emanuel, and preceptor to the prince Don Juan, who, after he became king, employed him in the colonies. His History of Asia and the Indies was published in four different parts, at different epochs, in 1552, 1553,

other authentic writers ; and it is well known that the Hindū language has been preserved with more purity in that, than in any other maritime province of India. To this (Dr. Leyden says), it is sufficient to answer, that the Sanscrit vocables, adopted in Malayu and Guzerati, are generally preserved purer in the former than in the latter ; that the Guzerati has no pretensions to be considered as a pure dialect of Hinduvi, but on the contrary, is one of the very first that was corrupted by a mixture of Arabic, and that long prior to the period mentioned by De Barros. The Bengali language itself, corrupted in pronunciation, as it certainly is, might have been more safely adopted as the medium for the introduction of Sanscrit vocables into Malayu. Many Sanscrit words that are in current use in Bengali, likewise occur in Malayu, with almost the very same pronunciation. Of this

and the fourth in 1615, forty-five years after the death of the author. It was reprinted at Lisbon, as well as the continuation of it by Coûto, in 1778.

it is easy to produce a multitude of instances."

"The greater part of the words of Sanscrit origin, found in Malayu, do not appear to have been introduced through the medium of the Bali. In many instances, the Malayu form approaches nearer the pure Sanscrit than even the Bali itself; and many mythological stories exist in Malayu, with mythological characters introduced in them, that, as far as I have been able to learn, do not occur in Bali compositions at all."

Dr. Leyden, speaking of Malay literature, mentions several articles taken from ancient Hindū writings, and among these, narratives termed *Hikaiat Pendawa*, or *Pandu stories*, which are popular versions in abridgment of the Sanscrit epic poem, the *Maha-bharat*; "some of which, in reality, give the outline of the story, as faithfully as the popular abridgments of it, which I have perused in Mahrata, Tamul, or Telinga. I am only acquainted with the following Malay Hikaiats of this class :

Pindawa Lima, the story of the five Pandús; Pindawa Jaya, the victory of the Pandús; Pindawa Berjuddi, the gaming of the Pandús; Pindawa Pinjam bali, the Pandús borrowing a Palace; Pindawa berjewal kapur, the Pandús selling lime. The Hikaiat, named Maha Raja Buma, of Purichu Nikassan, or, account of the contest between Brahma and Vishnu, professes to be translated from the Keling of the dramatist, Mungakarta Nigara. The Sah-Sipun'dia, or history of a Keling Rajah, is probably derived from the same source. The Hikaiat, Sri Rama, is reckoned a Susupun story, as are the Kusoma Indra, or the history of Indra, the Balinta Sena, the Sah Kobut, or history of the war with the Apes, the Rajah Ular Ninggawong, the Hikaiat, Bida Sari, the Hikaiat, Raja Pikermedi, or Vicramaditya Cheritra, the Hikaiat, Derma Rajah, and the Hikaiat, Kalil o Damna, or Malay version of the Kalil o Dumna.”*

* “ Les tomes 1er et 2d des Mémoires de la Société

“ The literature of the Javanese is similar to that of the Malays, to which it seems to have given origin. Their Kuggawins, or Cheritras, contain their mythology, and the adventures of their ancient heroes, and exhibit them in a style which has no inconsiderable resemblance to that of the Hindū Puranas. The Javanese laws are arranged in codes of considerable antiquity, and celebrated among all the eastern islands.”

“ The Bali and Madura languages, spoken by the inhabitants of the isles of the same name, appear from the best information I could procure, to be dialects of Javanese. The greater part of the inhabitants profess the ancient religion of their ancestors; resemble the Hindūs in their appearance; wear the Hindū marks on their forehead; and the women burn them-

de Batavia, renferment l'histoire d'un ancien Raja, traduite du Malai, et l'on trouve à la fin de la grammaire Malaise une assez nombreuse nomenclature de livres Indiens, Arabes, et Européens traduits en Malai.”—*Langlès.*

selves with their deceased husbands, according to the practice of the Hindūs. Like the unconverted Javanese, they are peculiarly addicted to the worship of Indra, Surya and Vishnu; but being neither in possession of their original religious books, nor of the extracts from them which have been adduced in the Transactions of the Batavian Society, I forbear to dilate on this subject at present."

The alphabet used by the Rekhends, or original inhabitants of Arracan, or Ruckan,*

* Arracan, or, as it also named, Ruckan, lying at the bottom of the bay of Bengal, begins where Chittygong ends, which is the most eastern part of the British possessions in that quarter. The Barma empire commences on the coast where Arracan ends, and is separated from it, inland, by a lofty ridge of mountains. This empire now includes the ancient kingdom of Pegu; which was finally reduced by the Barmas about the year 1760. The ancient name of the empire was Miamma, but it is now, as well as its capital, called Ava. On the N. W. it is separated from Casay by the river Kein-duem; on the North it is bounded by mountains, and some small independent Rajahships that lie contiguous to Assam; and on the N. E. and East by the borders of China and North-Siam. Pegu occupies the

is said to coincide accurately with the Devanagari system of characters in its arrangement, and very nearly in the power of the particular characters : Dr. Leyden, after mentioning several Rekhend literary works, says, “ it is evident, that the subjects of some of these works are the adventures of characters well known in Sanscrit mythology, as the Rama Wut’hu, or history of Rama, the Budd’ho-wa-du, or history of the Avatar Budd’ha ; others of them seem to be only Rukheng versions of well known Sanscrit compositions, as the Thi-to-pa-de-sa, or Hitopadesa, the Tham-ma-sut-Manu, or Dherma-sastra of Menu. The Suwanna-Asyang is the popular story of Suvurna Springi, or the Golden Cow, formed by the Brahmen Sumbukara Misra, and presented to Raja Mukunda Deva Cajapati. The Bhuridat is the history of Raja Bhuridatta of Magadha, mentioned in the Maha-Bha-

sea-coast from the borders of what, before its conquest, were the limits of the Barma Empire, and extends as far as Martaban, or, as it is also named, Mondima-a.

rata, and the Bhuridat-kapya, or Bhuriduttakavya, is a poem on the same subject. The Rajabuntza is the Rukheng edition of the Raja-Vumsavali; the Raja-Wontgza is a different work on the same subject, and the Pat'ha-wi-jéya seems to be the Prit'thu-vijeya. Of the modifications they have received in the process of translation, I have hitherto had little opportunity of judging; but as far as I have been able to investigate the subject, not only the style, but the incidents and progress of the Sanscrit narration are generally altered, to render them more illustrative of the ascetic doctrines of the Budd'hist sect; such as the guilt of killing animals, even accidentally; and the perfection acquired by Rishis in solitary retirement, by means of sublime penance and meditation."

The poem intituled in the Rekhend language Nga-Chaing-Braing, is the history of the birth of Gautama, and is evidently taken entire from the Hindū mythology; and the Chatu-Damasara, as it is termed in Pali, contains an eulogium of a

sovereign of Benares. The poem begins by saying: "Baranasi (Benares) was a beautiful and extensive region, inhabited by a race superior to every other, whether far or near, living fortunate and happy. Baranasi was, in every respect, an admirable country, possessing every thing desirable; for in that kingdom prevailed the practice of charitable donation, and the performance of ascetic duties."*

The language used by that numerous and powerful people, the Barmas,† differs from the Rukheng: its alphabet corresponds with the Bali. *The Barmas affect* a more delicate pronunciation than the Rekhends; but their speech is less articulated, and less conformable to true ortho-

* In the poem the Rajah is named Sivakara Kasa Mitra Ketu. Doctor Leyden says, "it is difficult to determine, from the Barma text, the true name of this sovereign of Benares; but several names, in some degree similar, as Mitreya and Ketumat, occur in a Pauranic list of the Rajas of Benares, descended from Divo-dasa, which was pointed out to me by Mr. Colebrook."

† See page 213, note.

graphy. The Barma language, however, has been highly cultivated, and in it are to be found numerous works on religion and science, mythology, medicine, and law; nor is the pretended science of astrology neglected. Many of the Barma poems are supposed to be derived from Sanscrit works, and the adventures of Rama in Lanka or Ceylon, are favourite topics in the Barma Dramas.*

The *Mon* language is still used by the original inhabitants of Pegu, who call themselves *Mon*, but by the Barmas they are named *Taleing*, and by the Siamese *Ming-Mon*. Its alphabet seemed to Doctor Leyden to be only a slight variation from the Barma-Bali alphabet.

Colonel Symes in his account of the embassy to Ava, says "The kindness of Colonel Sir John Murray supplied me with the Code

* "The Barma language has been little cultivated by Europeans, excepting the Catholic Missionaries. The *alphabetum Barmanum*, digested by Carpanius, was published at Rome in 1776." *As. Res.* vol. x. p. 238.

of Arracan laws, from which the Barman Dherma Sastra is compiled. It should be observed, that all the various law tracts in use amongst the Hindūs, whether sectaries of Buddha, or of Brahma, are but so many commentaries on the laws of Menu, the great and acknowledged founder of Hindū jurisprudence, whose original work has been translated with so much elegance by Sir William Jones.”

The language used by the Siamese is called *Thay*, which is also the name they assume as a nation. By the Barmas the country is called Syan, from whence probably the Portuguese Siam or Siaom.*

* “ La Loubiere, who visited Siam in 1687-8, as Envoy Extraordinary from the French monarch, has given incomparably the most accurate account, that has ever been exhibited, of this nation, formerly reckoned the most polished of Eastern India. He divides them into two races, the *Tai* and the *Tai Yai*. The latter nation, he adds, are reckoned savages, though the most ancient. Their name signifies literally *the great Tai*, and, in order to distinguish themselves from this nation, the ruling race, in modern Siam, assume the name of *Tai-noë*, *the little Tai*. Doctor Fr. Buchanan, how-

Doctor Leyden has given catalogues of some of the principal literary compositions in the Rukheng, Barma, and Siamese languages. He observes that "the Rama-Kien of the Siamese seems to be a version of the Ramayan, and relates the adventures of Pra'm or Pra Ram, and his brother Pra-La'k or Lakshmana, and their wars with Totsa-kan or Dusha-kantha (which is one of the names of Ravana,) who carried off Nang Séda or Si'ta. This narrative corresponds, as far as I have been able to learn,

ever, on the authority of the information he received in the Barma dominions, divides the Siamese race into many states; and gives a specimen of the vocables of three dialects. This brief vocabulary, with La Loubiere's observations on the Siamese language, and *The maxims of the Talapoins*, translated out of Siamese by the Catholic missionaries, which he has published in his *Historical Relation of the Kingdom of Siam*, constitute all that has been published respecting the language or literature of this nation, in any European tongue. The result of my own inquiries certainly coincides more directly with La Loubiere's information, than with that received by Doctor F. Buchanan."—*Dr. Leyden, Asiat. Res.* vol. x. p. 241.

with the Sanscrit poem, and almost all its incidents have been converted into Natakas for representation by the Siamese, in the same manner as the Barmas have employed the incidents of the Yama-meng or Barma-Ramayan. The *Maha Chinok* in the same language appears equally to have been taken from that celebrated Sanscrit poem."

The K'hohmén is a language used by a nation of that name on the Me-kon, or river of Kam-bu-chat, or Camboja. The Siamese from whom Doctor Leyden received his information in regard to it, assured him that it was entirely different from either the Thay language used in Siam, or the Juan used in Cochin-China. The K'homens are reckoned an ancient and learned people; who at a remote period, were subdued by the Thay-J'hay or Siamese race. They are believed to derive their origin from a warlike race of mountaineers named Khô, called by the early Portuguese writers Gueos, and who are represented as still practising the eating of human

flesh, and painting and tattooing or punctuating their bodies.

The *Law* language is used by an inland nation of that name, called by the Portuguese *Lão*, and in plural *Laos*. From specimens of the language which Doctor Leyden procured from some Siamese and Barmas, it appeared to him to bear about the same affinity to the *Thay* or Siamese, as the *Barma* bears to the *Rukheng*; but that, in the adoption of *Bali* terms, it adheres more accurately to the orthography of the *Bali* than either of these two. “It is from this nation that both Siamese and Barmas allege that they derive their religion, laws, and institutions. It is in the country of *Law*, that all the celebrated founders of the religion of *Budd’ha* are represented to have left their most remarkable vestiges. *Ceylon* boasts the sacred traces of the left foot of *Budd’ha* on the top of the mountain *Amala-Sri-padi*, or by Europeans *Adam’s Peak*. *Siam* exhibits the traces of the right foot, on the top of the golden mountain *Swa-na-bapato*. Other traces

of the sacred steps are sparingly scattered over Pegu, Ava, and Arakan; but it is among the Lâos, that all the vestiges of the founders of this religion seem to be concentrated, and whither devotees repair to worship at the traces of the sacred steps of Pra-Ku-ku-sôn, Pra-Kon-na-kon, Pra-Put-t'ha-Kat-sop and Pra-Sa-mut-ta-kodom. These Siamese names of the four Budd'has seem to correspond to the *Barma* Kaukasan, Gonagom, Kasyapa, and Gotama, and the *Singhala*,* Kakusanda, Konagam, Kasyapa, and Gautama. There can be no doubt, however, from the order of the names, but that they are the four last Budd'has in the list given by Hemachandra Acharya in the *Abhid'hana Chintameni*, under the following Sanscrit appellations, from which all these Siamese. Barma, and Singhala names, seem to be only Bali corruptions. The Sanscrit names are, Krukruck'hunda, Kan'chana, Kasyapa, and Sakyasinha."

* The language used in Ceylon.

“ The *Bali* language among the Indo-Chinese nations, occupies the same place which Sanscrit holds among the Hindūs, or Arabic among the followers of Islām. Throughout the greater part of the maritime countries which lie between India and China, it is the language of religion, law, literature, and science, and has had an extensive influence in modifying the vernacular languages of these regions. The name of this language, though commonly pronounced Bali, is more generally written Pali; but both forms are occasionally used. As the origin of the word is still very obscure, it is difficult to determine which is the more correct orthography. If, however, we could venture to identify the term with the Bāhlika B’hasha, which, in the Sahi’tya Derpana of Viswanatha, is enumerated as one of the languages proper to be used by certain characters in dramatic works, the latter ought to be considered as the more correct. La Loubiere, on the authority of D’Herbelot, has stated* that the ancient

* Tom. i. p. 422.

Persic language was termed Pahalevi, (Pahlavi) and that the Persians do not distinguish in writing between Pehlvy and Bahali. This conjecture would be confirmed by the identity of the terms Bali and Badlika B'hasha, were it to be established; for no doubt can be entertained that in Sanscrit geography, the epithet Bahlika is applied to a northern Indo-Persic region, probably corresponding to Balkh Bamiyan. Among the Indo-Chinese nations, the Bali is frequently denominated Lanka-basa, or the language of Lanka, or Ceylon, and Magata, or, as it is often pronounced, Mungata, a term which seems to correspond with the Sanscrit Magad'hi, which, in many of the Vyakaranas, is enumerated as one of the dialects to be introduced occasionally in Natakas, or Hindū dramas.

“ The Bali alphabet seems, in its origin, to be a derivative from the *Devanagari*, though it has not only acquired considerable difference of form, but has also been modified to a certain degree, in the power

of the letters by the monosyllabic pronunciation of the Indo-Chinese nations.* It has dropped, in common use, some letters entirely, and accented others in a manner similar to the Udhata, Anudhata, and Swarita tones, in the system of accentuation used in chaunting Mantras, and in reciting the Vedas themselves. The vowels are generally presented in the same order as the Deva-nagari, but by a similar mode of accentuation, eighteen are sometimes employed. The peculiarities of this pronunciation are, however, more closely adhered to by the Thay or Siamese, than by the Barma and Rukheng nations, whose languages are neither so powerfully accented, nor so monosyllabic as the Thay."

* " Je doute fort que la forme des lettres Balies soit d'origine Dâva-Nâgari, mais leur ordre est évidemment conforme à celui de ce dernier alphabet. Il seroit assez difficile d'expliquer cette identité d'ordre alphabétique, chez les Javans, les Mongoux, les Calmouks, les Mantchous, les Tibetains; il ne faut l'attribuer qu'à l'introduction de la religion Brahmanique plus ou moins corrompue parmi ces peuples."—*Observation made to the Author by M. de Langlès.*

“ The form of the Bali character varies essentially among the different nations by whom it is used. The square Bali character, employed by the Barmas, differs much from that which is used among the Siamese, and approaches nearer the form of the Barma character. The Siamese Bali character is termed, by the Siamese, Nangsu Khóm, the Khóm, or Khohmén character, having, according to their own tradition, derived it from that nation. The square Barma character seems to coincide with the Bali character of Lanka or Ceylon; though in that island, Bali compositions are frequently written in the proper Sing’hala character. Of the character used in Lâw, Champa, and Anam, I have had no opportunity of judging.”

“ The Bali is an ancient dialect of Sanscrit, which sometimes approaches very near the original. When allowance is made for the regular interchange of certain letters, the elision of harsh consonants, and the contraction of similar syllables, all the vocables which occur in its ancient books,

seem to be purely Sanscrit. In Cheritas and latter compositions, however, some words of the popular languages of the country sometimes insinuate themselves, in the same manner as Tamul, Telinga, and Canara vocables occasionally occur in the later Sanscrit compositions of the Dekhin. The Bali, while it retains almost the whole extent of Sanscrit flexions, both in nouns and verbs, nevertheless employs this variety rather sparingly in composition, and affects the frequent introduction of the preterite participle, and the use of impersonal verbs. It also uses the cases of nouns in a more indeterminate manner than the Sanscrit, and often confounds the active, neuter, and passive tenses of verbs. Like other derivative dialects, it occasionally uses Sanscrit nouns and particles in an oblique sense; but notwithstanding all these circumstances, it approaches much nearer the pure Sanscrit, than any other dialect, and exhibits a close affinity to the Prakrit and the Zend.”*

* Doctor Leyden examines all that has been said on

“ These three dialects, the Prakrit, the Bali, and the Zend,* are probably the more ancient derivatives from the Sanscrit. The great mass of vocables in all the three, and even the forms of flexion, both in verbs and nouns, are derived from the Sanscrit, according to regular laws of elision, contraction, and permutation of letters. Sometimes, in pursuing these analogies, they nearly coincide, sometimes they differ considerably, sometimes one, and sometimes another of them approaches nearest to the original Sanscrit. Their connexion with this parent language was perceived, and pointed out by Sir W. Jones, and has also been alluded to by P. Paulinus, who de-

the Bali language by D’Herbelot, La Loubiere, Kæmpfer, P. Paulinus, Vincentio-Sangermano, and Carpagnus, and in the French Encyclopedia. He had not before him La Croze, but what is said by that learned author on this subject is not important. Sangermano was an Italian priest, who resided at Ragoun.

* Il est assez probable que le Zend est un livre sacré des Parsys; voilà pourquoi on dit maintenant la langue du Zend. Cette ancienne langue a en effet une étonnante ressemblance avec le Sanskrit.”—*Observation communicated to the Author by M. de Langlès.*

rives his information, concerning the Bali, from Carpanius and Mantegatius. The fate of these three languages is also, in some degree, similar. The Prakrit is the language which contains the greater part of the sacred books of the Jainas; the Bali is equally revered among the followers of Budd'ha; while the Zend, or sacred language of ancient Iran, has long enjoyed a similar rank among the Parsis or worshippers of fire, and has been the depository of the sacred books of Zoroaster. It is perhaps, however, more accurate to consider all the three rather as different dialects of the same derivative language, than as different languages; and conformably to this idea, the Bali itself may be reckoned a dialect of Prakrit. The term Prakrit, both in books, and in common use among the Brahmins, is employed with some degree of latitude. Sometimes the term is confined to a particular dialect, employed by the Jainas,*

* A sect in India that has a near affinity with the Buddha sect.—See an account of it, vol. i. p. 269—276.

as the language of religion and science, and appropriated to females, and respectable characters of an inferior class, in dramas. Sometimes it includes all the dialects derived immediately from the Sanscrit, whether denominated Prakrit, Magad'hi, Súraseni, Pais'achi, or Apabhrans'a ; and sometimes it is even extended to the D'esa-b'hashas, or popular tongues of India, as Mahrásht or Mahratta, Canara, Telinga, Udia and Bengali. According to the extended use of the term Prakrit, it may certainly include both Bali and Zend ; and if more extensive research should justify the idea derived from an imperfect investigation, I apprehend that the Bali may be identified with the Magad'hi, and the Zend with the Súraseni, of Sanscrit authors."

" These three dialects, the Prakrit, Bali, and Zend, have been regularly cultivated and fixed by composition. The same laws of derivation are applicable to the formation of all the three ; but yet there is often considerable diversity in the forms which par-

ticular words assume, as appears from the following comparative specimen.”*

“ In this specimen, the Prakrit words are selected from the Menōrama Vritti of Bhamaha, and the Prákritalankeśwarah of Vidyá Vinod’ha; the Bali are taken at random from the Kumára-Bap, Chitamnan, and Hatamnán; and the Zend, from the vocabularies of Anquetil du Perron, whose orthography, since I have not been able to procure the original Zend, has been preserved, however inaccurate, in preference to conjectural emendation; though I am convinced that an orthography, more conformable to the original, would render the connexion of Zend with its cognate dialects more apparent.”—Dr. Leyden then gives a specimen of the connexion of the Bali with the Sanscrit, by quoting a passage in Bali from the Hatamnan, and which he restores into Sanscrit, without, he observes,

* Doctor Leyden gives a comparative list of a number of Sanscrit, Prakrit, Bali, and Zend words, which the reader may refer to.—*Asiat. Res.* vol. x. p. 284 et seq.

the radical change of a single word. The passage, he says, was chosen at random, and adds, "but considerable portions of Bali have been subjected to the same process with a similar result; and I am satisfied that it applies equally to Prakrit and Zend, though words of an origin foreign to Sanscrit, may occasionally be expected to occur in all the three dialects."*

* The passage is thus translated into English :

"The *Devas* frequent *Swurga*, *Kamarupa*, the mountain tops, and atmosphere, in their cars; and on earth they visit the *Dwipas*, the fields, cities, recesses of forests, habitations, and sacred places. In inaccessible places, by land or water, the *Yakshas*, *Gand-hervas* and *Nagas* reside, in the vicinity of waters. Listen to me, ye devotees, while I recite the words of the *Munivaras* : this is the time for hearing sacred things—(the devotees reply) Say on. (the speaker proceeds) Reverence to *Bhagavata Arhata*, the all-comprehending. Those who hear, shall become pure of mind, and *Trisara* shall protect them both in this and other worlds: the *Devas*, earthly and unearthly, possessed of various qualities, constantly present themselves to their thoughts; and the *Devas* who reside on *Meru*, the chief of mountains, of pure gold, frequent them. In the full and perfect hearing of the words of the *Munivaras*, the *Yakshas*, *Devas*, and *Bramhanas* delight above all else."

The learned author promises in a future essay to proceed to shew the characteristic structure of the Bali, its grammatical peculiarities, together with the relations which it bears with the Prakrit and Zend; and at the same time to give a view of the Bali literature, and its influence as a learned language on the vernacular *Indo-Chinese* tongues, a promise which we are anxious to see performed. Whatever may come from the pen of Dr. Leyden, we doubt not, will be directed by the same spirit that has evidently guided him throughout the present essay. Animated by a love of truth, he seems equally exempt from prejudice or partiality. He communicates what he has learnt, and always accompanies his opinions with the evidence on which he founds them.* He concludes by saying: "Of the Bali language, different Koshas and Vyaka-

* These pages were written during the author's detention as a prisoner of war in France. He was then unacquainted with the loss the literary world has sustained by the death of Dr. Leyden.

ranas are known to exist; and several of them are to be procured in Ceylon, as the Bali, Subdamala, Balavatara, Nigandu, and Nigandu Sana. Of the Zend, various alphabets and vocabularies, as well as original compositions, are extant; but no set of grammatical forms, with which we are acquainted. The learned Tychsen, in his dissertation *De Cuneatis Inscriptionibus Persepolitanis*, 1798, recommends, earnestly, to the Asiatic Society, to form grammars and lexicons of the Zend and Pahlavi; and this must undoubtedly be performed if ever the subject be accurately investigated; for, as yet, we are imperfectly acquainted even with the true arrangement of the Zend alphabet; though it is probably the origin of the ancient Cūfic character, if not the actual Himyaric character itself. I have at present little doubt that the character of the ancient Zend, or as it is termed, according to Anquetil Du Perron's orthography, *Azieanté*, is derived from the Deva-nagari; for that author himself admits that the vowels coincide with the Guzeratti, and

hints that in some alphabets the consonants also have a similar arrangement. Numerous circumstances likewise lead us to conjecture, that if ever the Persepolitan inscriptions in the *Arrow* character be decyphered, it will be on the principles of this alphabet. Niebuhr has stated, from actual observation, that the characters of these inscriptions are certainly written from left to right, like the Deva-nagari, and the alphabets derived from it. If this authority can be depended on, it completely sets aside every attempt to explain them by any alphabet written from the right hand to the left. A subject, however, like the *Arrow character*, concerning which there are almost as many opinions, as authors who have engaged in the discussion, can never be illustrated by mere conjectures, however ingenious or plausible."

It would be superfluous to proceed further with that learned writer, but to such as may be desirous of more minute information we earnestly recommend a perusal of

his essay itself; and shall conclude our remarks on the Sanscrit Language by an appeal to the authority of Dr. Wilkins.

“ He who knows Sanscrit has already acquired a knowledge of one half of almost every vernacular language of India; while he who remains ignorant of it, can never possess a perfect and critical understanding of any, though he may attain a certain proficiency in the practical use of them. The several dialects confounded under the common terms *Hindi*, *Hindavi*, *Hindostani*, and *Bhasha*, deprived of Sanskrit, would not only lose all their beauty and energy, but, with respect to the power of expressing abstract ideas, or terms in science, would be absolutely reduced to a state of barbarism. These, and the idioms peculiar to Bengal, Kāmarupa, and the adjacent provinces; the *Tamul*, the *Telinga*, the *Carnatic*, the *Malabar*, together with that of the Mahratta states, and of Gujarat, so abound with Sanskrit, that scarcely a sentence can be expressed in either of them without

its assistance. The learned languages of Tibet, of Ava, and of Ceylon, are enriched by it; and every one of them is indebted to it for its alphabet, however dissimilar their characters may seem at first sight."

"The lover of science, the antiquary, the historian, the moralist, the poet, and the man of taste, will obtain in Sanskrit books an inexhaustible fund of information and amusement. Besides the Vedas, there exist at this day numerous original treatises of considerable antiquity, on astronomy, mathematics, and other sciences, highly worthy of examination; various systems of philosophy and metaphysics; innumerable tracts on grammar, elocution, logic, the art of poetry, music, medicine, ethics, politics, and other topics; with sublime and elegant poems on every variety of subject; more particularly those grand mythological treasures, the ancient poems called Puránas, an endless assemblage of enchanting allegory and fable, and of the most interesting stories of ancient times, recounted in polished numbers, calculated to allure the

reader into the paths of Religion, Honour, and Virtue.”*

From what has been stated, and also from the authorities occasionally referred to,† we think ourselves authorized to advance, that traces of the language, learning, and mythology of the Hindūs, will be found, not only throughout the *Indo-Chinese* nations, but also to the extremities of Tartary. That, in such extensive progress, some deviations may have been made; that, in some regions, new divinities may have been invented; and that rites and rules, necessary or admissible in the climate of India, may have been found inapplicable in more rigid countries, must naturally be supposed: but wherever we may direct

* Preface to the Grammar of the Sanscrit language, pp. x, xii.

† See also the Author's Sketches on the Hindūs, vol. ii. p. 171, et seq.; the account given of Thibet by Mr. Bogle, who was sent on an embassy to the Lama by Governor Hastings.—Relation of another embassy thither by Turner, in 4to; and the account given by Symes of his embassy to Ava, 4to. and 8vo.

our inquiries, throughout the immense space we have mentioned, we are persuaded that some prominent features of the Hindū languages and religion will be discovered.

A short account of the doctrines and religious practices of the Siamese (we conceive) will, not unappropriately, conclude this chapter.

Their laws and tenets, as we have already observed, are written in Pali. They say, that “ a language, in which so many mysteries are communicated, should itself be a mystery, and not profaned by the impious ; or, what may be written in it, misapprehended by the ignorant.”

Their religion enjoins the adoration of God ; and Father Tachard,* with an honest frankness, observes, that as far as regards precepts of morality, and instruc-

* A Jesuit missionary already quoted by us ; he was at Siam at the same time as the Abbé de Choisy. See his *Voyages à Siam*, published at Paris in 1686 and 1689.

tions for our conduct in life, “no Christian can teach any thing more perfect than what it prescribes. It not only forbids its followers to do ill, but enjoins the necessity of doing good, and of stifling every improper thought, or criminal desire.”

The belief in an universal pervading spirit, and in the immortality and transmigration of the soul, forms a fundamental part of the doctrines of the Siamese. They believe the universe to be eternal, without beginning or end; but they admit, that particular parts of it, such as this world, its productions and inhabitants, may be destroyed and again regenerated.

They have their good and evil genii; their rural and other deities, who preside over their forests and rivers, and interfere in all sublunary affairs.

They are extremely curious to look into futurity, by applying to their astrologers and oracles; and there is a famous cavern where they go to make sacrifices, and consult the priests who attend there.

Far from considering suicide as a crime,

in some cases they think it commendable; that it may render service to the soul, by delivering it from an inconvenient habitation; and it is not uncommon to find a Siamese hanging upon a particular tree, dedicated to the god Mercury, and called in Balic *Pra-si-maha-pout*, or *the tree sacred to the great Mercury*.

The Talapoins, or priests, live in monasteries contiguous to the temples. They make vows of chastity, the breach of which is punished by the offender being burnt to death; but what is singular, and entirely opposite to the rules observed in India, any one may enter into the priesthood, and after a certain age may quit it, marry, and return into society. Nor are the people divided as in India into casts; but if the Hindū religion were introduced into Siam after a certain order of civil society had been already established there, it may be supposed that the system observed in India, of separating the people into casts, may have been omitted as no longer practicable. The Talapoins, however, are distinguished from,

and elevated above, the bulk of the people, nearly in the same manner as the Brahmins among the Hindūs. They maintain with jealous care the respect they think due to their order; which, with charitable donations to themselves and the building and repairing of temples and monasteries, they inculcate as pious duties. They never return a salute to a layman, not even to the prince, though the prince never fails to salute a Talapoin.

By the rules of their order, they are enjoined to go to the temples and perform their devotions twice a day, in the morning and evening; to confess their faults to each other; to be watchful, not to encourage any wicked thought, or admit into their mind any doubt with respect to their religion; never to speak to any of the other sex alone, nor to look stedfastly upon any one they may accidentally meet; not to prepare their own food, but to eat what may be given, or set before them, ready dressed; not to enter into a house to ask alms, nor to wait for them longer at the

door than the time that an ox may take to drink when he is thirsty; not to affect friendship or kindness with a view to obtain any thing; to be sincere in all their dealings, and when it may be necessary to affirm or deny any thing, to say simply, *it is*, or *it is not*: never to be in a passion with any person, or from any cause strike any one; but to be gentle in their manners, and compassionate in their conduct: not to keep any weapons of war; not to judge any one by saying he is good, or he is bad; not to look at any one with contempt; not to make any one the subject of ridicule; not to say that any one is well made or ill made, or handsome or ugly; not to frighten or alarm any one; not to excite people to quarrel, but endeavour to accommodate their disputes; to love all mankind equally; not to boast either of birth or learning; not to meddle in any matters of government, that do not immediately respect religion; not to be dejected at the death of any one; not to drink spirituous liquors of any kind; not to disturb the

earth themselves by labouring in it ; not to cut down any plant or tree ; not to cover the head, nor to have more than one dress ; not to sleep out of their monastery ; not to eat out of any vessel of silver or gold ; not to play at any game ; not to accept of money but by the hand of the person in the monastery, who may be appointed for that purpose, and then to apply it to charitable and pious purposes ; not to envy any one what he may enjoy ; not to be in anger with any one, and, retaining that anger, come with him to any religious ceremony, or act of devotion ; not to sleep on the same bed with any one. Beside these, they have many other rules respecting their morals and behaviour.

They are called every morning from their sleep by the sound of the *gong* ; but they are enjoined not to rise, till they can discern the veins in their hands, lest they should kill any thing, by treading upon it.

Each monastery has its *Sancra*, or superior, who is elected by its members, to

preside over them. After having performed their ablutions, and before they eat any thing, they go with the Sancra to the temple, where they prostrate themselves before the images, and afterwards sit down with their legs under them, and chant and perform their devotions in the Bali language. Father Fontenay, in his relation of a voyage from Siam to Macao, speaking of some Talapoins whom he saw at their devotions, says: “ They were sitting on the ground, with their hands joined together, and chanted for the space of an hour with their eyes fixed on the idol. Few persons in Europe perform their devotions with so much modesty and respect, especially when they last so long. I confess that their example made me feel more sensibly than any sermon could have done, with what humility and reverence we should behave before the majesty of God, when we address him in prayer, or appear before him at the altar.”

They dine at noon, and except this meal;

never eat any thing but fruit, or at any time drink any thing but water. In the evening they return to the temples, and perform their devotions as in the morning; the intermediate time, except what is spent at dinner, is employed in the education of youth, in reading books containing their doctrines, and in walking abroad at certain fixed hours.

The Talapoins never offer any bloody sacrifice; and it is a favourite charity with them, to buy animals, and give them their liberty.

There are devotees among them, who lead the most austere and solitary lives; and almost entirely refrain from speech, in order, they say, that their thoughts may not be disturbed from contemplating the Almighty. These wander about the country; they have neither monasteries, nor any other habitation; the people imagine that they are protected from the beasts of prey, with which the woods abound, by a sacred influence that surrounds their per-

sons; and wonderful stories are told of the fiercest of these animals, coming with the gentleness of lambs, and licking their hands and their footsteps.

Like the Hindūs, the Siamese reject the idea of eternal punishment, believing that the professors of any religion may be saved, by observing its precepts, and practising the duties of morality; and, like them, they also pretend, that some holy men have the peculiar power in their transmigrations, to look back upon their former state of existence. Many of the superstitious prejudices that are to be found among the Hindūs, prevail equally with the people of Siam. They observe the feasts of the new and full moon, and think the days that from the change precede the full, more fortunate than those which follow it. Their almanacks are marked with lucky and unlucky days; nor will any one who has the means of applying to astrologers, undertake any thing without first consulting them. They look upon the cries of certain birds, the howlings of animals, a serpent

crossing the road, or any thing falling without an evident cause, as unfavourable omens; and such occurrences are sufficient to prevent them from setting out on a journey, and to induce them to put off any business, however urgent it may be.

Many of the musical instruments of Siam are the same with those used in the temples of the Hindūs, and were probably introduced with their religion.

The Siamese, in general, bury the dead: the bodies of persons of distinction, are however, burnt with much show and ceremony: but if it was ever the custom for the widow to burn herself with the corpse of her husband, it is no longer observed. The bodies and ashes of the dead are generally buried under small pyramids, that are built round the temples; sometimes the ashes are thrown into a sacred river, on a supposition that it will be propitious to the soul of the deceased. All offer sacrifice to the manes of their relations. They imagine that they sometimes appear to them in

dreams; and, as often as this happens, the funeral sacrifices are repeated, and offerings made at the temples, for the expiation of their sins.*

* See Sketches on the Hindūs, by the author of the present work, vol. ii. p. 117, *et seq.*

CHAPTER XII.

SOME ACCOUNT OF ANCIENT AUTHORS, WHO
HAVE DESCRIBED INDIA.

THE ancient authors that have treated of India, whose works are yet extant, and chiefly merit to be consulted, are Strabo, Pliny, Ptolemy, and Arrian. They lived at no great distance of time from each other: Strabo must have written not more than sixty years before Pliny, the latter about as much before Ptolemy, and the latter about twenty before Arrian. It appears that they had some works to assist their inquiries, which no longer exist. Though Diodorus Siculus wrote his history in the time of Julius Cæsar, a few years before Strabo, it does not appear that either he, or the other three authors we have mentioned,

trusted much to his authority: Rennell observes, that “ Arrian seems purposely to correct some of his errors.” It is not known exactly when Quintus Curtius lived, but he must have compiled his account of the expedition of Alexander subsequently to the authors we have mentioned.

Of those who accompanied Alexander into India, Onesicritus, a disciple of Diogenes, the Cynic philosopher, wrote a history of his life,* which was regarded by Strabo as too fabulous to merit confidence; but, if fabulous in some things, we find others confirmed by subsequent observations; and notwithstanding the accusation brought against him by Strabo, he in several instances appeals to his authority. In proof of his merit it may be observed, that in the distribution of recompenses, made at the celebration of Alexander's nuptials, at Susa, with Barsine, or Statira, daughter of the unfortunate Darius, Nearchus

* This author is mentioned by Diogenes Laertius, lib. vi. c. 4. tom. ii. p. 642 (edit. Longolii).

and he were honoured with crowns of gold.* The former had commanded the fleet on its voyage from India; the latter had piloted it, which is a proof also of Onesicritus's knowledge in science. Calisthenes † likewise wrote a history of Alexander, which is mentioned by Strabo. Journals of his proceedings were kept by his natural brother, Ptolemy Lagus; by Aristobulus of Cassandria, ‡ by Diodotus of Erythræa, in Bœotia, and by Eumenes of Cardia, the secretary and faithful friend of Alexander, and one of the most illustrious, though least fortunate, of his successors. Diognetus and Beton had

* “ To Onesicritus we trace the first mention of Taprobania, or Ceylon; and what is extraordinary, the dimensions he has assigned to it, are more conformable to truth, than Ptolemy had acquired four hundred years later, and at a time when it was visited annually by the fleets from Egypt.”—*Vincent*, vol. ii. p. 20.

† Vide *supra*, vol. i. pp. 220, 221, note.

‡ This city was formerly named Potidæa—so famous for its siege in the time of Pericles: the name was changed to Cassandria, by Cassander, son of Antipater.

the charge of keeping an itinerary of his marches, and, as far as they had opportunities, they surveyed the countries through which he passed. Many of the valuable materials contained in the Journal of Nearchus, were happily preserved by Arrian.* Whether Clitarchus of Eolia, who likewise wrote a history of Alexander, accompanied him to India, is uncertain. But the works principally consulted by Arrian, in his account of the expedition of Alexander, were the journals of Ptolemy Lagus and Aristobulus. They were both favourite generals of Alexander, much about his person, and no doubt had access to, and made use of the topographical journals of Diognetus and Beton, and which are supposed to have been still extant when Strabo and Pliny wrote. Ptolemy and Aristobulus,

* It is to be noticed that Strabo has copied this Journal as evidently as Arrian, and that he is indebted to Nearchus for many facts; which, however extraordinary they might appear in his age, have been confirmed by modern observation."—*Vincent*, vol. i. p. 69.

scarcely being witnesses of what they related, were free to express their thoughts: but, as Arrian informs us, they did not publish their works until after the death of Alexander; and though Strabo seems to accuse Aristobolus of partaking a little of that love of the marvellous, with which the authors of the expeditions of Alexander have been charged, yet Arrian declares in the preface to his history, that he was freed from the authority of Ptolemy and Aristobolus, as being in every respect worthy of belief. The history, with which Aristobolus is charged by Lucian,* seems altogether unimpaired: Wesseling de *Saint-Claude* supposes that he communicated just with Cassius,† though we know not in what

* See Lucian in the manner of writing history.

† See *“Bibliotheca Catalogus seu Index Historiarum & Historiarum & Geographiarum, per H. de Saint-Claude,”* and the translation of that work into English, with Notes and Illustrations, and C. de la Harpe’s *Commentaire*. It is *Saint-Claude*, in the second edition of his work, the subject-matter of the observations of the English commentators.

ground a supposition so unreasonable as the latter is made, unless it be from the above mentioned charge brought against him by Strabo, of his being a liar.

The work of Arrian, containing an account of India, was published after his history of Alexander: and seems, according to the opinion of Bunsen, to have been written with the view of elucidating some parts of that history. Though he probably consulted, for this work, all the different authors who had before written on the subject, it appears that he chiefly relied for his information on the journals of Nearchus and Megasthenes. The latter is already observed, and here we see an instance of Seleucus Nicator to Sandrocottus, at Pataliputra; and during his stay at India, not only continued to writing what he had opportunities of observing himself, but what he learnt from others that seemed to him to merit notice.

Besides the works mentioned above, a history been written on India, by the lieutenants of Alexander, and by Megasthenes.

there is one, said to have been composed by Daimachus, who, after the return of Megasthenes from Palibothra, was sent thither by Seleucus as ambassador to *Allitrochades* the successor of *Sandrocotus*; and also by another Patrocles, who, under Seleucus and his son Antiochus Soter, appears to have governed provinces of their dominions contiguous to the Indus, and to have visited India.*

It was on account of the supposed fabulous narratives contained in the works of former authors, that Strabo preferred those of Eratosthenes and Patrocles, though the former had never visited India at all; and though Patrocles, according to Dr. Vincent, and which, indeed, seems probable, had never been beyond the Panjab, that is, not farther, and perhaps not so far as Alexander had been, whereas Megasthenes and Daimachus had resided on the banks of the Ganges.

The accuracy of the ancients in the geo-

* See Plin. lib. vi. c. 17.

graphy of India *Intra Gangem*, when compared with their means of acquiring a knowledge of it, must surprise all those who may attentively consider the subject. Rennell says that the ancient authors will be found at least as correct in their observations, and in the positions given by them to places, and to have had as just an idea of the country *Intra Gangem*, as European geographers possessed forty years before the date of his Memoir, that is, only about sixty years ago.* The journals of Ptolemy, Aristobulus, and Nearchus, long formed the basis of the geography of India, and of the labours of subsequent authors on that subject. It has been observed, that The *Antiquité Géographique de l'Inde*, by that great modern geographer D'Anville, is far from standing on a level with the

* See in the "Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh," April, 1816, an "Essay by Mr. Hugh Murray, on the Ancient Geography of Central and Modern Asia, with Illustrations derived from recent discoveries in the North of India."

merits of his other works:* having mistaken the Chelum, or Hydaspes, for the Indus of Alexander, he has consequently misplaced, and mis-named the subsequent rivers of the Panjab.†

“ Arrian’s Indian history, which is extremely curious, and merits more notice than it commonly meets with, shews us how very little change the Hindūs have undergone in about twenty-one centuries, allowances being made for the effect of foreign conquests; which, however, have produced fewer changes here, than they would have done any where else: for customs, which in every country acquire a degree of veneration, are here rendered sacred, by their connexion with religion; the rites of which are interwoven with the ordinary occurrences of life. To this, and to the seclusion from the rest of mankind, inculcated by the Brahminical religion, we are to ascribe the long duration of the Hindū religion and customs; which are only to

* Vincent.

† Rennell.

be extirpated, together with the very people among whom they prevail; and which have been proof against the enthusiasm and cruelty of the Mohammedan conquerors: nay more, have taught a lesson of moderation to those conquerors, who at last saw no danger arising to the state, from a religion that admitted no proselytes.

“ We are at the first view surprised to find that Arrian, who professes to treat of India, should confine himself to the description of a particular part only, while he had authors before him who had treated the subject at large. It may however be accounted for in this manner: that he chose to follow those only, who had been eye-witnesses to what they wrote; not compilers: and it is pretty clear that his account of India is meant chiefly to illustrate the history of his hero. The following particulars, selected from among others, will shew to those who are conversant with India, how nearly the ancient inhabitants resembled the present. 1. The slender make of their

bodies. 2. Their living on vegetable food. 3. Distribution into sects and classes; and the perpetuation of trades in families. 4. Marriages at seven years of age; and prohibition of marriages between different classes. 5. The men wearing ear-rings; party-coloured shoes; and veils, covering the head, and great part of the shoulders. 6. Daubing their faces with colours.* 7. Only the principal people having umbrellas carried over them. 8. Two-handed swords; and bows, drawn by the feet. 9. Manner of taking elephants; the same as in the present age. 10. Manufactures of cotton, of extraordinary whiteness. 11. Monstrous ants: by which the *Termites*, or white ants, are meant; though exaggerated. 12. Wooden houses, on the banks of large rivers; to be occasionally removed, as the river changed its course. 13. The *Tala* tree, or *Tal*; a kind of palm. 14.

* Meaning the distinctive marks of their casts or families, painted daily on the forehead with water-colours.

The Banian, Burr, or Vota tree,* and the Indian devotees sitting under them.

“ As to Megasthenes, Arrian thought he had not travelled far over India ; although farther than Alexander’s followers. This opinion may serve partly to explain, why Arrian did not preserve the journal of Megasthenes by inserting it in his history of Alexander, or in his account of India.

“ His geography of India relates chiefly to the northern parts, or those seen by Alexander and Megasthenes. And his catalogue of rivers, most of which are also to be found in Pliny, and among which we can trace many of the modern names, contain only those that discharge themselves into the Ganges or Indus.

“ Of the different histories of Alexander, that have travelled down to us, that by

* Points of branches of this tree descending into the ground, take root and shoot up into fresh trees ; hence so large a space is *sometimes* covered, from one original stem, that it is no exaggeration to say that a battalion of five hundred men might easily encamp under the shade produced by it.

Arrian appears to be the most consistent ; and especially in the geography of Alexander's marches, and voyage in the Panjab ; which country, by the nature of its rivers, and by their mode of confluence, is particularly favourable to the task of tracing his progress."*

* Rennell, Introduction to Memoir of a Map of Hindūstān, edit. 1793, p. 28, et seq.

CHAPTER XIII.

ON THE ANCIENT COMMERCE AND COMMUNICATIONS WITH INDIA BY EUROPEAN NATIONS.

THE term Monsoon is given to those winds which prevail alternately, during six months of the year, from the North East and South West quarters. Arrian calls them *Etesian*, from the name given to those winds which blow from the Euxine and Hellespont in summer, but particularly during the months of July and August, over the Egean sea, and across the Mediterranean into Africa. Near the Indian coasts, the course of the Monsoon winds frequently gives way for a few hours in the night and early in the morning, to breezes from the land. Vessels of small dimensions, by keeping near the shore, take advantage of those breezes to

get along the coast in a direction opposite to the course of the Monsoon; as, however, when the breeze fails, they must anchor, and wait for its return, their progress necessarily becomes extremely tedious.

The North East Monsoon is expected to set in towards the end of October, and is replaced by the S. W. Monsoon in April; but there is at both changes a space of fluctuation sometimes of more, and sometimes of less duration. The change of the Monsoons is accompanied by the periodical rains, and frequently by violent tempests. The rains on the coast of Coromandel are most abundant, at the setting in of the N. E. Monsoon; but, on the Western and N. W. parts of India, when the S. W. wind begins in April and May. On the coast of Coromandel and Bay of Bengal, the setting in of the N. E. Monsoon is most apprehended by navigators. That in the spring is seldom accompanied by any great tempest. The commanders of ships in the Royal navy and in the East India Company's service have orders to quit the

coast of Coromandel by the 15th of October, and not return to it before the beginning of January: for though, on the coast of Coromandel and through the whole Bay of Bengal, the tempests we have alluded to rarely happen after the beginning of December; and though, during at least four months of each Monsoon, or more than eight months in the year, the winds blow alternately S. W. and N. E. in a moderate and steady gale, yet there are instances of tempests happening sometimes later than the period above mentioned.* The fleets

* On the coast of Coromandel, the violent hurricanes which so frequently accompany the change of the Monsoon from S. W. to N. E. are almost constantly preceded by a large swell rolling in upon the shore. While an English squadron was blockading Pondicherry in 1760, on the 30th December of that year, though the weather was then calm, a prodigious swell began to roll from the Eastward towards the land. The weather became close and dusky; the surf beat so violently on the shore as to render communication with it impossible. Admiral Stevens, who commanded the blockade, aware of his danger, but knowing that the capture of the place depended on preventing provisions from being

of England went formerly to Bombay, when the change of the Monsoon from S. W. to N. E. was expected ; those of France to

introduced into it, had, on the first indication of a storm, sent orders to rear-admiral Cornish, who was with a division of the fleet at Trincomaly, to come with all diligence, and, in case of accident to him, take his station.* Early on the 31st it began to blow in hard and progressively increasing squalls. There lay in the road eight ships of the line, two frigates, a fire-ship, and a large ship loaded with stores. During the day the tempest continued to increase, and after sun-set blew with excessive violence. At ten at night the admiral cut his cable, and standing out to sea, made signals for the other ships to do the same. But the roaring of the storm prevented the guns from being heard, and the duskiness of the atmosphere, the lights from being seen. The commanders of the other ships, in obedience to the strict discipline of the English navy, remained ; but some parting from their cables were, by the effect of the elements themselves, saved : as, being then free, they succeeded in getting into the offing. Every moment the tempest augmented until about twelve at night, when the wind veering to the N. E. suddenly fell calm ; but soon after, it began from the S. E. to blow with greater fury than before. The Newcastle, the Duke of

* A duplicate of this letter, which fell into the hands of the French, was published at Paris in a pamphlet written by the late Count d'Estaing.

the island of Mauritius ; but of late years those of England have it in their option, as circumstances may determine, either to go

Aquitaine, and the Sunderland line of battle ships ; the Queenborough frigate, the Protector fire-ship, and Duke transport, foundered at their anchors, or were dashed to pieces in the surf. On the 1st of January, the sun rose clear, to shew the dreadful effects of the storm ; the shore was covered with dead bodies, masts, casks, pieces of timber, and all the other marks of complete shipwreck. The unfortunate Lally, who commanded in the town, immediately dispatched letters to the French agents at the Danish settlement at Tranquebar, and the Dutch settlement at Negapatam, commanding, exhorting, and entreating them to exert every means to send provisions into the town ere the blockade should be renewed. In some letters that were intercepted, written with uncommon animation, he says, that being deserted by man, heaven in pity of him, and in protection of the cause he defended, had come to his deliverance. In saying that he had been deserted by man, he seems to have alluded to M. d'Aché, the French admiral, of whom he ever bitterly complained, first for having left the coast, and secondly for deferring to return to it. On the second of January, admiral Stevens again anchored in the road ; admiral Cornish soon after joined him ; and in less than a week he had assembled there eleven ships of the line besides frigates, whose boats continually cruising in all directions near to the shore, intercepted

to Bombay or the bay of Trincomaly on the island of Ceylon, or to Prince of Wales's island near the entrance of the straights of Malacca; and in addition to these they may now go to the Mauritius also.

In the North of India, or the Panjab, the rainy season commences about the middle, or rather the end of June; but the rivers begin to swell with the first heats of spring and summer, by the melting of the snow on the mountains contiguous to their sources. It appears that Alexander crossed the Indus sometime in the beginning of May;* he therefore probably found the

every vessel that attempted to reach the town. (See Orme's history, &c.)

The introduction of this event may perhaps appear irrelevant: but it shews the nature of the storms to be apprehended at the change of the Monsoon.

The conduct of Stevens may serve as an example worthy of imitation. He devoted himself to impending destruction, rather than prove deficient in what he conceived to be his duty.

* In the 11th year of his reign, and 29th of his age, 327 years before our æra. He was born on the 24th of our September, 356 years A.C. succeeded his father

rivers already swollen and constantly increasing. As he advanced, he had not only to encounter the difficulties which this circumstance alone must have opposed to his progress, but had afterwards to support the effects of heavy rains, and the extreme heats of the season. Tamerlane passed the Indus nearly at the same spot* where Alexander had crossed it 1725 years before, but he began his expedition in the month of October,† the early part of the cool season, when the rivers had retired within their banks. Nadir Shah crossed it 340 years after Tamerlane, about the same place, early in the month of January.‡ These two conquerors probably knew and calculated on the seasons, a point which Alexander seems to have neglected; but when he quitted India, he must have known their course. On his return from India, he sailed with his fleet from Nicæa

Philip in the year 336 A. C. and died at Babylon on the 19th of July, 324 A. C.

* The Taxila of the Greeks, now Attock.

† A. D. 1398.

‡ A. D. 1738.

on the Hydaspes, or Chelum, on the 23d October, 327 A. C. and, after various operations, arrived at Pattala, the present Tatta, next year, about the end of August, nearly ten months after leaving Nicæa. At Pattala he delivered the command of the fleet to Nearchus, assisted by Onesicritus, whose office seems to have been that of pilot. The fleet, after leaving the Indus, was to steer in a north-westerly direction towards Cape Eirus,* from thence to the mouth of the river Arabis, and then along the coast of Gedrosia† and Caramania towards the gulph of Persia. The army on land, after leaving Pattala, marched in two divisions, one commanded by Alexander in person, the other by Hephæstion: while Leonatus, with a corps of light troops, was ordered to keep near the coast, for the purpose of assisting the fleet, and transmitting intelligence of its progress. Alex-

* Now Cape Monze.

† The inhabitants of this coast were named Ichthyophagi, or fish-eaters.

ander went first through the countries of the Arabitæ and Oritæ, thence into Gedrosia, and forward towards Susa.

Nearchus began his voyage from the Indus sometime between the first and tenth of October, or nearly a month after Alexander left him. He consequently sailed when the Monsoon was about to change; though he kept along shore, and had thereby the advantage of the sea and land breezes, he nevertheless found it necessary to put into a port near to Cape Eirus, where he waited 24 days on account of the weather. Having again sailed, he arrived at the river Anamis* in Caramania, about the 10th of December of the same year. Receiving intelligence there, that Alexander was with his army at five days journey from him, he gave orders for the fleet to be drawn on

* Now Mina. The Andamis of Pliny, and Andanius of Ptolemy, seem to have been a distinct river from the Anamis, though some authors have confounded them with it. See Gosselin, "*Recherches sur la Géographie Systematique et Positive des Anciens*," tome iii. pp. 111 et 112.

shore, and a fortified camp to be formed for its security ; he then set out with a few of his companions towards the spot where he was told he should find Alexander, and shortly after had an interview with him. It appears that Nearchus left the Anamis about the first of January, 325 A.C. and arrived in the Pasitigris* in Susiana, the tenth of February.†

* The Pasitigris has by some geographers been supposed to be a branch of the Tigris; but it appears that they are distinct rivers, the former to the East of the other. The Euleus, or a branch of the Euleus, flowed close to Susa, and united with the Pasitigris in about N. Lat. 30° 26'. Alexander embarked at Susa on the Euleus and descended the stream, whilst Nearchus ascended the Pasitigris from the place where it discharges itself into the Persian Gulf. Hence naturally they met each other.

† Reckoning from the 10th of October to the 10th of February, the voyage appears to have taken 123 days. Nearchus even in the tedious mode of navigating then in use, might have performed it in much less time than he employed, but it was a voyage of survey and discovery. In a dispute between him and Onesicritus with respect to the course to be steered, Nearchus observed, that Alexander had not sent the fleet for the purpose of

The wonderful efforts made by the Tyrians to defend themselves, when left entirely to their own exertions, were sufficient to convince Alexander of the importance of maritime power, and of the wealth and resources to be derived from commerce. He also had opportunities of learning the particulars of the traffic carried on by the Phenicians with the East. He seems to have felt what was said by Cicero two hundred years after him, "*Qui mare tenet, eum necesse est rerum potiri.*" When he succeeded to the throne of Macedonia, the trade with India was carried on wholly by the Tyrians. The merchandize was brought by the Red Sea, or Arabian Gulf, to a port at the bottom of that gulf, and from thence transported across the deserts to Rhinoconura, a town of the Mediterranean on the frontiers of Palestine and Egypt. From Rhinoconura, the products of India

transporting those on board to their destination, but to obtain a knowledge of the coasts, and to ascertain the best time and mode for navigating those seas.

were carried by sea to Tyre, and were thence circulated through different parts of Europe. After the conquest of Egypt, it appears that Alexander early conceived the plan of forming a direct intercourse through that country with India. He resolved to replace Tyre* by a city better adapted to his views. For this purpose he chose a spot on the coast of Egypt to the westward of the mouths of the Nile, which enjoyed the advantage of being covered towards the sea by the island of Pharos. He there founded the city which still bears his name, and from which communications were opened by canals both with the Nile and the lake Mareotis. The architect who directed those works, is said to have been

* Old Tyre was taken by Nebuchadnazar, king of the Assyrians, 572 years B. C. New Tyre was raised, opposite to the old city, on a small island, or spot of land separated from the continent by an extremely narrow channel of the sea. It had even surpassed the ancient city in wealth, when it was taken and destroyed by Alexander 332 years before our æra. It was restored under the Seleucidæ, but never more attained its former splendour.

Dinocrates, a native of Macedon; and who, we are informed, was employed to rebuild the famous temple of Ephesus. Arrian assures us that Alexander's fleet on the Indus was equipped for the express purpose of opening the intercourse between India and Alexandria.* Nothing can more fully

* This fleet, when it sailed from Nicæa, is said to have consisted of nearly 2000 vessels of different sizes, and among them were 80 trireme gallies: nor does Rennell think this number exaggerated. It was in the first instance to transport a great part of the army and baggage to Pattala or Tatta; and there a due number of vessels was chosen out of it, for the voyage that was to be undertaken by Nearchus.

“ It may appear extraordinary that Alexander should, in the course of a few months, prepare so vast a fleet for his voyage down the Indus; especially as it is said to be the work of his army. But the truth is, that the Panjab country, like that of Bengal, is full of navigable rivers; which communicating with the Indus, form an uninterrupted navigation from Cashmere to Tatta: and, no doubt, abounded with boats and vessels ready constructed to the conqueror's hands. That he built some vessels of war, and others of certain descriptions which might be wanted, is very probable; but transport and provision vessels, I doubt not, were to be collected to

prove his anxiety to accomplish this object, and the importance he attached to it, than his interview with Nearchus when he came to him from Anamis. Being informed that he was accompanied only by Archias and five other persons, he conceived that his fleet had perished by shipwreck. The tattered garments and long beards of Nearchus and his companions, confirmed his fears. Leading Nearchus aside, to hear, unobserved, what he had to relate to him, he seemed fearful of questioning him; but, recovering his composure, he said, "Nearchus, I am glad to find that you and Archias are safe, but tell me where and in what manner did my fleet and troops perish."—"Your fleet and troops are safe," replied Nearchus, "we have come purposely to inform you."—"Where then are they?"—

any number. I think it probable, too, that the vessels in which Nearchus performed his coasting voyage to the Gulf of Persia, were found in the Indus. Vessels of 180 tons burthen are sometimes used in the Ganges; and those of 100, not unfrequently."—*Rennell's Memoir of a Map*, p. 132, edit. 1793.

“At the Anamis, preparing to prosecute their voyage.”—In the joy he felt in being thus suddenly and unexpectedly relieved from all his pain, he burst into tears, and exclaimed; “by the Lybian Ammon, and Grecian Jove, I swear to thee, that I am made happier by receiving this intelligence than in being conqueror of Asia; for I should have considered the loss of my fleet, and the failure of the enterprize it has undertaken, as almost outweighing in my mind all the glory I have acquired.”*

Ptolemy Lagus obtained Egypt, as his portion of the succession of Alexander; but the wars in which he was engaged did not prevent him from bestowing an assiduous attention on the improvement of the countries which had thus fallen to his share, or of those he afterwards conquered. Knowing that his late sovereign had founded the city of Alexandria with the view of making it the great emporium of trade, and point of communication between the east and

* See Arrian's Account of India: Amsterd. Edit. p. 576, et seq. 1658.

Europe, Ptolemy established the seat of government there, and for the security of vessels navigating in the night, he caused a lofty light-house to be erected on the island of Pharos, which was executed with such art and magnificence, by the famous architect Sostratus, as to excite the admiration of all who visited it. Secure in the undisturbed possession of Egypt, he afterwards made himself master of Cælo-Syria and Phenicia: entered Judea; took Jerusalem; and sent about a hundred thousand captives into Egypt; numbers of whom he settled at Alexandria, and granted them their freedom. Ptolemy Lagus, now called Soter, dying in the year 285 B. C. at the age of ninety-two, was succeeded by his son Ptolemy Philadelphus, who particularly applied himself to complete the plan projected by Alexander, and afterwards prosecuted by his father. It appears that he once intended to form a canal, which is said to have been begun by Nechos,* and was to extend from the place named Ar-

* Called in the Scriptures, Pharaoh Necho.

sinoe,* to the Pelusiac branch of the Nile; a work which he afterwards abandoned; but, in order to lessen the dangers and delays with which the navigation of the Arabic Gulf is fraught, especially towards the bottom of it, where Arsinoe stood, he caused a city to be built, named Myos Hormus, on the western coast of the gulf, above Arsinoe. Another city was afterwards raised on the same coast, still nearer to the mouth of the gulf, named Berenice: some have attributed the founding of this city also to Philadelphus, but there is reason to believe that it was built by his son Ptolemy Evergetes, and that the name Berenice was given to it to commemorate the virtues of his queen, and the extreme love he bore to her. Berenice became the principal port; whence the merchandize brought from the east, was transported across the desert of Thebais to Coptos, a city about 258 Roman miles from

* A city built by Ptolemy Lagus, near the spot where Suez now stands.

Berenice, and about three from the Nile, to which it was conveyed by a canal, and thence down the stream towards Alexandria. The desert of Thebais being almost destitute of water, cisterns were constructed at certain distances on the road, for receiving what fell from the heavens, as well as what might be conveyed from neighbouring springs.

The ships destined for India, after leaving the ports in the Arabian gulf above mentioned, sailed along the shore to the promontory of Syargus, now cape Rasalgate, and from thence proceeded in the same track which Nearchus had pursued on coming from India. The commerce with India under the descendants of Ptolemy Lagus, seems to have been confined to the maritime places which Alexander had visited there, but chiefly to Pattala, now Tatta, at the head of the lower Delta of the Indus. On the death of Cleopatra, daughter of Ptolemy Auletes, Augustus took possession of Egypt as a conquered country ; but instead of declaring it a province of the Roman empire,

he retained it under his own immediate authority. So jealous was he of interference in regard to it, that a decree was issued, forbidding any one to go thither without his special permission; and the same system must have been as scrupulously observed under his successor, for we find the going to Egypt without leave, one of the articles of accusation brought by Tiberius against Germanicus, to the senate.*

Under the Romans the commerce with India was increased, and carried to countries south of the Indus. At Barugaza† situated on the gulf Baragenesus‡ and river Narbudda, the traders found a more abundant and convenient mart than at Pattala. From the interior parts of the country, but especially from the cities of Plithana, supposed to be the place now called by the Hindūs, Pultanah ; and from

* A. D. 19, and in the fifth year of Tiberius.—*Taciti Annales*, lib. ii. c. 59, 60.

† The present Baroach.

‡ Now Cambay.

Tagara,* named by Rennell, Deoghir, various sorts of goods were transported by land-carriage to Barugaza.

The voyage to India as hitherto practised, not only occasioned great loss of time, and

* Doctor Vincent, on the authority of Mr. Wilford, supposes Tagara to have been situated where the famous temples and excavations of Ellora are seen, in the vicinity of Dowlatabad, in the northern part of the Deccan. He mentions engravings on plates of copper found on the island of Salsette, near Bombay, in which the city of Tagara is mentioned. These plates were procured by General Carnac, and sent by him to Sir William Jones, while president of the Asiatic Society, at Calcutta. Mr. Carnac informs the president, that none of the Guzerat Brahmins who had been consulted, could explain the inscriptions. They were, however, translated by a learned Pundit, at Calcutta, named Ramalochan, who certainly knew nothing of the *Periplus* of Arrian, but the name of the city as written by Ramalochan was found, on pronouncing it, to correspond with the Greek name Tagara. In mentioning the prince who made the grant, it is said: "Aricēsari Dēvarajah, &c. &c. descended from the stock of Jimūlavahana, king of the race of Silar, sovereign of the city of Tagara, ruler of the whole region of Cancana, &c."

For the grant see *Asiat. Res.* London edit. vol. i. p. 357; and for Remarks on the city of Tagara, p. 361, of the same volume.

consequently increase of expense, but was exposed to risks which in the modern and more perfect state of navigation are avoided. In the course of those voyages, the persons who conducted the vessels must have noticed the regular direction and shiftings of the Monsoons. Whether from a resolution taken in consequence of such observation, or whether by accident, as is alleged, it was not until the reign of Claudius, that is, sometime between the year of Christ forty-one and fifty-four, or full 370 years after the voyage of Nearchus, that the tedious mode of keeping near the shores was abandoned. Pliny informs us that Hippalus, a freed man of Annius Plocamus, being sent by him in a vessel to collect the customs of the Red Sea, which Plocamus farmed from the Emperor, was driven by a strong wind into the Erythrean *

* The Erythrean appears to us to have been the sea extending along the coast, from the gulf of Arabia to the gulf of Persia. According to fabulous story, the name was given to it in commemoration of the death of

sea and Indian ocean, and arrived after a short voyage at a place which he names Hipparus, on the island of Taprobane, or Ceylon,* or, according to other authors at Musiris, on the coast of Malabar; the latter account appears to us the most reasonable. In consequence of this discovery, instead of coasting, when going to or coming from India, the more expeditious method of sailing in a direct course was adopted. After that epoch we find traders frequenting various places on the coast of Malabar; one of these was named by the Greeks, Zizerus, the

Erythras, son of Perseus and Andromeda, who was accidentally drowned there.

* This island is named by Cosmas, the monk, Sielidiba, which approaches very nearly to Serendib, the name by which it is known over all the east. Cosmas, during the reign of Justinian, after different voyages to India, retired into a monastery, where he composed several works. Although his topography is full of extravagant hypotheses, and he seems absurdly credulous, like the ancient Greek authors, and the modern Tavernier, he relates what he really himself saw, with truth and simplicity.—See *Collection des Ecrivains Grecs, par le Père Montfaucon*.

position of which has not yet been ascertained; another was Murcis, supposed to be Calicut, and finally they can be traced round Cape Comorin, purchasing pearls from the fishery at Tuticorin in the Gulf of Manar, and proceeding to and mounting the Ganges. From Berenice, ships sailed for India in the months of June and July, and began their voyage homewards in December.

Besides the productions of the great peninsula of India, some of those of China, the spice islands, and the Golden Chersonesus,* were also brought to Egypt; but as the traders from thence had no direct

* To fix this Chersonesus, has excited much learned inquiry; but that it meant the coasts of Ava, Pegu, and Malacca, perhaps Siam also, is the opinion that now most generally prevails.

It appears that the Hindūs carried on maritime commerce at a very remote period. We have already mentioned a law of Menu respecting money lent on bottomry. (See vol. i. p. 35.) But besides what may have been brought to India from China by sea, it appears that the productions of that country were also brought by land through Thibet to the banks of the Ganges.

intercourse with those last mentioned countries themselves, Dr. Robertson supposes this to have been one of the reasons why silks continued to bear such immense prices at Rome, even in the time of Aurelian,* above two hundred years after it was first introduced there. This observation is founded on a belief entertained by the learned author, that silk, at that time, was produced in China only; and that the price of what was brought to Rome, was enhanced by the charges of such circuitous course, and by the profits of the different merchants through whom it was procured. But the opinion that the silk-worm was peculiar to China, is unquestionably erroneous. In the laws of Menu two classes of persons are mentioned as specially appropriated to the care of the silk-worm and the spinning of silk; they had names expressive of their occupations, and they yet continue to follow them from father to

* Aurelian was elected Emperor in the year of Christ 270.

son in the same manner as is observed by the Hindūs in all other avocations. In the ancient Sanscrit language there are names for the silk-worm and silk. On the first acquaintance of the Greeks with the Hindūs, we find silks mentioned, when speaking of their dresses. Sir William Jones observes, that “silk was fabricated immemorially by the Indians.”* The author of *Remarks on the husbandry and internal commerce of Bengal*, when speaking of the culture of the mulberry, and the process of the Hindūs in regard to silk, mentions silk obtained from *wild worms*, which feed on other plants besides the mulberry. He says, “much silk of this kind supplies home consumption; much is brought from the countries situated on the N. E. border of Bengal, and on the southern frontier of Benares; much is exported wrought and unwrought to the western parts of India; and some enters into manufactures which

* See Sir Wm. Jones’s *Third Discourse to the Asiatic Society*. (Works, vol. iii. p. 42.)

are said to be greatly in request in Europe.” He speaks of five kinds of silk-worms, but adds, that the one called *Desi*, or *native*, is preferred. He estimates the export of raw silk from Bengal, at from 150 to 200 tons annually, but observes that it might be greatly increased.*

* After speaking of silk, he says: “ The manufacture of indigo appears to have been known and practised in India at the earliest period. From this country, whence the dye obtains its name, Europe was anciently supplied with it, until the produce of America engrossed the market. Within a very late period, the enterprise of a few Europeans in Bengal has revived the exportation of indigo, but it has been mostly manufactured by themselves. The nicety of the process, by which the best indigo is made, demands a skilful and experienced eye. It is not from the practice of making some pounds from a few roods of land that competent skill can be attained: yet such was the management of the natives. Every peasant individually extracted the dye from the plants which he had cultivated on a few *biswas* of ground; or else the manufacture was undertaken by a dyer, as an occasional employment connected with his profession. The better management of the Americans in this respect, rather than any essential difference in the process, transferred the supply of the market to America; for, it is now well ascertained

But if the commerce with India became a source of fortune to the industrious trader, and an important branch of revenue to the government, the introduction of the products of the East also tended to stimulate and increase the already excessive luxury which prevailed at Rome. In the *Periplus of the Erythrean sea* by the navigator Arrian,* an account is given of the imports

that the indigo of Bengal, so far as its natural quality may be solely considered, is superior to that of North America, and equal to the best of South America.”—*See Remarks on the Husbandry and internal Commerce of Bengal, published at Calcutta in 1804, republished at London in 1806, p. 154.*

* This Arrian must not be confounded with Flavius Arrian, the historian of the Expedition of Alexander. The author of the *Periplus* appears to have been a trading navigator in the seas described by him, and to have personally visited the coasts of the Red Sea, part of those of Arabia, Africa, and Malabar in India. There are some things in the *Periplus* contradictory to what is said by the other Arrian. He supposes Alexander to have advanced to the banks of the Ganges: whereas, according to Flavius Arrian, he never even crossed the Jumna. The time of the existence of the author of the *Periplus* has not been ascertained, but it must have

from India, and in the Roman Digests the articles subject to duties to the government are enumerated.*

The imports from the East consisted of Cotton cloths, white and coloured; Muslins, plain, flowered, striped, and embroidered; Silks; and, though shawls are not specified, yet *Marucorum Lana*, which Dr. Vincent supposed to be the wool of which the shawls are made, is mentioned; Medicinal drugs; *Ferrum Indicum*, tempered iron or steel; Spices and Aromatics,† in the

been after the Romans had conquered Egypt, and before Arrian the historian. See Vincent, vol. i. p. 45.

* Digest, lib. xxxix. tit. iv. Doctor Vincent, in an Appendix to the second volume of his work on the navigation to India, gives a list of the articles mentioned in both the Periplus and Digest.

† Amongst the aromatics, the *Nardi Stachys*, mentioned in the Digest, and the *Nardi Spica* in the Periplus, appears to have been what is named by Roxburgh and others, Spikenard. Dr. Vincent observes, that no Oriental aromatic has caused such controversy among the writers on natural history, and that it is only within these few years that we have arrived at the true knowledge of it, by means of the inquiries of Sir William Jones and

list of which all those now brought from India are to be found; frankincense; odoriferous gums, woods, and ointments; sugar, called *honey from canes*;* tortoise-shell; ivory; porcelain; precious stones and gems of various kinds, as emeralds, sapphires, topazes, amethysts, hyacinths,

Dr. Roxburgh. See Vincent, vol. ii. p. 742.—Asiatic Researches, vol. ii. p. 405, and vol. iv. pp. 97 and 433.—And Roxburgh's Plants of the coast of Coromandel, in which there are beautiful coloured drawings of the Spikenard.

* *Lotos Honey* is also mentioned, which it is difficult to account for: we do not conceive that sugar could be procured from the berry of the *Ramnus Lotus*, which is a farinaceous plant, and we know that the *Nymphæa Lotus* is held sacred by the Hindūs, and preserved with religious care. (See vol. i. p. 151—157.) This article is not in the Digest, but in the Periplus only, the author of which says that it was brought from Barugaza. I am inclined to think that the name *Lotus* must be an error, arising either from the ignorance of the author, or an inadvertency in copying; for if sugar could be extracted from the *Nymphæa*, and it were even permitted by the Hindūs, the quantity procured from so rare a plant, must have been too inconsiderable to furnish an article for exportation.

and diamonds, which were brought to a great amount; the ruby is not specifically mentioned, but it seems improbable that it should have been neglected, and may, perhaps, have been confounded with other red coloured stones both in the Digest and in the Periplus; what is named *Alabanda* in the Digest, Dr. Vincent, on the authority of Dutens,* calls a stone between a Ruby and Amethyst. To these are to be added the *Lapis Callainus*, or Callain stone, a species of Emerald.† Various kinds of what are called *Fine Stones* to distin-

* Des Pierres précieuses, et des Pierres fines, par M. L. Dutens.

† See Dutens, c. vii. p. 36. This author denies that the ancients had any knowledge of the true emerald; and says that the green gems, called *Smaragdus*, were of an inferior quality to the emeralds brought from Brazil and Peru. I conceive, however, that in this respect he is mistaken. Had I attended to the circumstance sooner, I should have mentioned it to him; and as he was ever open to conviction, I think he would have admitted his error. Unfortunately, we have now to regret his loss. Emeralds of great beauty are seen in India; I possessed one such myself, which I procured there: they are to be found, I believe, in Pegu and Ava.

guish them from what are termed *Precious Stones*, were also brought from India; the Onyx and Cornelian were principally employed for engravings; the Sardonyx, and other Agates, in works of curiosity and drinking cups; but stones of sizes fit for these being extremely rare, and much admired, bore proportionately high prices. The Onyx is mentioned as being brought from Tagara, and fine Onyxes are now found in that part of the Deckan, more frequently, I believe, than in any other part of India.

But it appears that the gems, most esteemed by the Roman ladies, were Pearls, which were purchased with eagerness, and when of great size and beauty, at a prodigious expense. The sum paid by Julius Cæsar for one that he gave to Servilia, the mother of Marcus Brutus, is stated at forty-eight thousand four hundred and fifty pounds sterling; and the famous pearl ear-rings of Cleopatra have been valued at one hundred and sixty-one thousand four hundred and fifty-eight pounds. Pliny observes, that the prices of pearls exceeded those of any other

gems; that there was not a female without some pearl ornament, saying, *they were as necessary to a woman when she appeared in public, as the Lictor to the magistrate*; that not only the knots, but the whole of the shoes were to be found covered with them; and he mentions having seen Lolliia Paulina, the wife of the Emperor Caius,* not at a festival, or public ceremony, but at a common marriage supper, with pearls and emeralds which had cost forty millions of Sesterces:† and these were not, says the author, jewels

* Caligula, son of Germanicus, and successor of Tiberius.

† The common, or small Sesterce, has by some been valued so low as two French sols, or a penny English; by others more.

“ *Le sestertius nummus des Romains,*” says the learned Chevalier Visconti, in a communication to the author, “ *valoit deux As et demi de leur monnoie; mais il ne faut pas inférer de cette valeur que le sesterce Romain, doit être évalué à deux sous et demi, monnoie de France. Une infinité d’anciens Denarius Romains existent en nature : la plupart sont connus sous le nom de Médailles de famille en argent. Il est certain que ces Denarius contiennent autant d’argent pur que nos francs actuels en contiennent. Or si le Denarius qui valoit dix As, équivaloit à peu-près à un franc, le Sestertius qui formoit*

given to her by the profuse Caius, but came to her from her grandfather, Marcus Lollius.

Silks were for a long time used by the women only. Besides the expense of a silk dress, it was judged too effeminate for men. The Greeks and Romans, as long as they preserved their ancient character, wore nothing but woollen garments. But some must have put on silk so early as about the third year of the reign of Tiberius, or seventeenth year of the Christian æra: for we find in a motion made in the senate, for passing a law to restrain the excessive luxury that prevailed, a prohibition for men from using silk dresses.* The dissolute

la quatrième partie du *Denarius*, sera l'équivalent de cinq sous."

If therefore the Sesterces here mentioned be taken at five sols French money, it will make those jewels amount to ten millions of francs, or about 416,666 pounds sterling.

* *Decretumque ne vasa auro solido ministrandis cibis fierent; ne vestis serica viros fœdaret.*—*Tacit. Ann. lib. ii. c. 33.*

Heliogabalus, above two hundred years afterwards, is said to have been the first that ventured to wear a *Holosericum*, or garment wholly made of silk ; but before that time it appears that persons of rank had worn the *Subsericum*, or garment of a texture of silk and wool.

Pliny, when speaking of muslin, terms it, “ a dress, under whose slight veil our women contrive to shew their shapes to the public.”

The consumption of spices and aromatics by the Romans, was so great as to exceed belief, were not the circumstances that prove it transmitted to us by authors whose testimony cannot be rejected. Much frankincense and other aromatics were employed in sacred functions, but the consumption of them by individuals greatly exceeded these. At the funeral of Sylla, forty-eight years before Augustus took possession of Egypt, it is said that *two hundred and ten burthens* of spices and aromatics were strewed upon the pile ; and Pliny observes that Nero caused a quantity to be

burnt at the obsequies of Poppæa,* greater than what he supposes the countries from which they were imported could produce in the year. Though those assertions may be exaggerated, they shew at least that a most profuse use was made of those articles on particular occasions. He observes *that heaps were consumed* on the carcasses of the dead, whilst only grains were offered to the gods.†

Cinnamon appears to have been in great demand. The fine Cinnamon is produced on the island of Ceylon only; different species of inferior kinds are found in various parts of India. Pepper was then, as now, produced on the coast of Malabar; quantities may also have been brought from the island of Sumatra into the penin-

* A. D. 65.

† Periti rerum asseverant, non ferre tantum annuo fœtu, quantum Nero princeps novissimo Poppææ suæ die concremaverit. Æstimantur postea toto orbe singulis annis tot funera, acervatimque congesta honori cadaverum, quæ Diis per singulas micas dantur.—*Plin.* lib. xii. c. 41. (tom. ii. p. 343. edit. Bipont.)

sula of India, as well as spices from the Molucca islands, and purchased in the peninsula by the traders from Egypt and Persia. Besides the aromatics brought from India, considerable quantities were likewise brought from Arabia.

The exports to India consisted chiefly of light woollen cloths for the use of the inhabitants in the northern provinces; brass and copper vessels; tin brought by the Romans from England; lead, coral, glass vessels, oil of olives, storax, partly the produce of Italy, but chiefly of the Grecian islands; some wrought silver, but principally bullion. Pliny states the balance against Rome of trade with the East at a hundred millions of Sesterces, or 1,041,666 pounds sterling.*

It appears that, before the expedition of Alexander, the productions of India were brought into the Persian dominions by land, and continued to be conveyed thither under Seleucus Nicator and his successors.

* See Pliny, lib. xii. c. 41.

About 250 years before Christ, the Parthians, under their leader Arsaces, having made themselves masters of Persia, formed with their ancient possessions a power that often successfully disputed that of the Romans.* The Arsacidæ, or race of Arsaces, continued to reign over Persia 477 years, when in the year 227 of our æra, the reigning prince, named Artaban, was assassinated and the Parthians expelled, by a Persian who afterwards took the name of Ardshir or Artaxerces, whose dynasty, named Sassanidæ, continued to reign over Persia until it was conquered by Omar, second Calif from Mohammed, in the year of Christ 632.

Besides the productions of India, which

* The Parthians before their conquests, possessed only the hilly tract of country bordering on Aria. They afterwards extended themselves W. and N. W. towards the Caspian. Their capital, which is said by Ptolemy, to lie in the middle of their dominions, was named Hecatompylos. Under Darius Hystaspes their country was included in the 16th Satrapy or Viceroyship of his empire.

from a very remote period were brought into Persia by land, it appears that after the expulsion of the Parthians a commerce between the two countries was opened by sea. The commodities brought from India into the Persian Gulf, were, by means of the Euphrates and Tigris, and from these by caravans, distributed through every part of the Persian Empire. Though transporting them to Persia by sea, must have abridged the time, and lessened the expense of the mode formerly in use, it appears, nevertheless, that the practice of carrying goods by land, was still continued, though probably in a less degree than before the intercourse by sea was opened. The productions of India and China were now brought into Europe from Persia as well as Egypt. Besides those of China which were purchased in India, and brought from thence into the Persian and Arabian Gulfs by sea, some, and especially raw and wrought silks, were brought directly from China into Persia by land: the caravans setting out from Bokhara, situated on

the river Politemus, and passing by the city now named Samarcand,* also situated on that river, proceeded to the frontiers of China, and again returned by the same route. The Indian and Chinese commodities that were destined for Europe, were transported to the borders of the Caspian, embarked there, and from the opposite shore carried to ports on the Euxine; where being again embarked, they passed through the Bosphorus to Constantinople and other ports in the Levant. In less remote times goods brought from India by sea, were also landed at Bassora, from thence conveyed to Aleppo, and afterwards to Scanderoon and Tripoli.

But the inland commerce between India

* Samarcand, the Maraganda of Strabo and Pliny.—The Politemus or Sogda, which flows by it and Bokhara, discharges itself into the Oxus or Gihon beyond Biband in N. Lat. 37° 45'.

At Bokhara there was a rich silver mine; another at a place named Aderbigian; and another at Shiraz; the two former we believe still continue to be wrought, but the latter is said to be at present neglected, the quantity procured being unequal to the charge of working it.

and China, and the dominions of the Greek Emperors, was frequently interrupted, and constantly exposed to the arbitrary exactions of the Persian government. The luxury which prevailed in the Byzantine empire, exceeded, if possible, that mentioned to have been practised at Rome; and, at both places, to have been deprived of what served to gratify vanity, or sensual appetite, would have been considered as a misfortune.

Justinian ascended the throne of Constantinople in the year of Christ 527, and Khosroes, surnamed the Great, of the Sassanide race, that of Persia in 531. Justinian found the empire engaged in war with the Persians, from whom in 532 he obtained peace on condition of paying a tribute to Khosroes, and putting him in possession of the passes of Caucasus. A second war broke out between them in 540, and was continued, with the intervention of some short truces, for about twenty years, during which time the commerce through Persia to Constantinople was almost entire-

ly suspended. But in the course of this war, an unforeseen event introduced the culture of silk into the Greek Emperor's own dominions. Two Persian Monks employed as Christian missionaries, having penetrated into the country of the Seres, or China, had occasion to observe the labours of the silk-worm, and the progress of fabricating its productions. Too pious to communicate their discoveries to their unbelieving countrymen, in the year 555, they repaired to Constantinople and explained them to the Emperor. They even undertook to bring silk-worms to his capital, which they afterwards accomplished, by secretly conveying the eggs of those insects, in canes hollowed for the purpose. These being afterwards hatched by the heat of dung, and fed with the leaves of the mulberry-tree, grew into maturity, and speedily multiplied. Numbers of the insects were reared in different parts of Greece, particularly at Athens, Corinth, and various places in the Peloponnesus. From Greece they were carried into Sicily and Italy, and

subsequently into other countries. In process of time, considerable manufactures of silk were established in different parts of Europe. The importation of wrought silk from the East gradually declined, but owing to the great consumption of that article, as well as on account of the quality, considerable quantities of raw, or unspun silk continue to be brought both from India and China.

In 561 a treaty of peace for fifty years was concluded between Justinian and Khosroes, in which some stipulations were made in regard to commerce.

Desirous of avoiding whatever may be foreign to our subject, we are nevertheless led to take notice of some circumstances, which must necessarily have had influence on the intercourse and commerce with India.

Justinian died at Constantinople the 14th of November, 565, in the eighty-third year of his age, and 38th of his reign. He was succeeded by his nephew Justin, whose history is a continued scene of disgrace and

losses abroad, of oppressions and vexations exercised at home. His power was confided to ministers whose conduct caused their master to be despised, and his government detested. In 572 he imprudently, and in violation of the treaty above mentioned, renewed the war with the Persians. Khosroes immediately put himself at the head of his armies, and laid siege to Dara in Mesopotamia; while his general, Adarman, ravaged the country as far as Antioch, and took and reduced to ashes the city of Apamea. Dara, which was considered of high importance to each party for the security of their respective frontiers in that quarter, surrendered after an obstinate defence, and the feeble Justin now trembled for his capital itself. The events of this war, and the discontents that prevailed, induced him to resign his sceptre into abler hands. His only son by his wife Sophia, had died in infancy. Setting aside his own kindred, he chose for his successor a distinguished officer named Tiberius, who commanded the Imperial guards. The ceremonial of abdi-

cation and investiture was performed in the presence of the Senate, the Patriarch, and some of the principal clergy. Justin's speech on this occasion, as recorded by Theophylactus Simocatta, may serve as an instructive lesson to sovereigns in general.*

* The Emperor addressing himself to Tiberius, said:
“ You behold the ensigns of supreme power. You are
“ about to receive them not from my hand, but from the
“ hand of God. If you honour them, from them you will
“ derive honour. Respect the Empress your mother;
“ you are now her son; before, you were her servant.
“ Delight not in blood, abstain from revenge; avoid
“ those actions by which I have incurred the public
“ hatred, and consult the experience rather than the
“ example of your predecessor. As a man, I have sin-
“ ned; as a sinner, I have, even in this life, been pu-
“ nished: but these servants (pointing to his minis-
“ ters) who have abused my confidence, and encouraged
“ my passions, will appear with me before the tribunal
“ of Christ. I have been dazzled by the splendour of
“ the diadem: be thou wise and modest; remember what
“ you were—remember what you are. You see around
“ us your subjects and children; with the authority,
“ assume the tenderness, of a parent. Love your people
“ like yourself; cultivate the affections, and maintain the
“ discipline of the army; protect the fortunes of the rich—
“ relieve the necessities of the poor.”

Theophylactus

The choice made by Justin of Tiberius was universally approved at the time, and justified by experience. To Justin he was an affectionate and grateful son; to his people, a just and protecting ruler. The virtues of the Byzantine prince were as conspicuously eminent as the vices of the Roman Emperor of that name, and which have rendered it proverbially odious.

Tiberius, soon after he mounted the throne, obtained a truce with the Persians for the term of three years. He began however actively to prepare for war. The army, which had been neglected during the late reign, was completed, and discipline restored. Khosroes when informed of the measures he was pursuing, resolved to anticipate his design. Dismissing the ambassadors of Tiberius, he again crossed the

Theophylactus, who wrote under Heraclius, about 32 years after the death of Justin, declares this speech to be exactly conformable with that pronounced by the Emperor. See Theophylactus, lib. iii. c. xi, *Corpus Byz. Hist.* Edition of the Royal printing Press, Paris, 1668.

Euphrates. The Christian army that opposed him, was commanded by Justinian, son of Germanus, nephew of the late Emperor, and who, soon after the elevation of Tiberius, had entered into a conspiracy against him, at the instigation of the Empress Sophia; but throwing himself on the mercy of Tiberius and candidly avowing his crime, the new Emperor not only pardoned his offence, but knowing his merit, confided to him the command against the Persians. The two armies met a little to the west of Melitene, situated near the confluence of the Mela and Euphrates. After a severe conflict, Khosroes was defeated. In his retreat he burnt Melitene, and, to save himself, swam across the Euphrates on the back of an elephant. In addition to the disgrace and misfortune of this defeat, his dominions were menaced by an invasion of a new enemy, named the Turks. Neither his mind nor body was now in a state to support such a reverse of fortune, and encounter the difficulties that presented themselves; he sunk into the grave in the 48th year of

his reign and 80th of his age, and was succeeded by his eldest son Hormouz, a prince unworthy to fill the throne of his illustrious father.

On the western side of the mountains of Imaus, named Altai, lived a tribe of people subject to the Khan of Geougen, or eastern Tartary. The country they inhabited was named by the Persians Turkistan, and its inhabitants Turks. Famous for its iron mines, the people were chiefly employed in working them, and in fabricating arms for the service of the Khan. A Turkish leader, named by some Bertezena, by others Toumouen, having, for some signal service performed by him, demanded in recompense the daughter of the Khan in marriage, his request was not only rejected, but the refusal accompanied with expressions of contempt. Indignant at the insult, he excited his countrymen to shake off their yoke.* The measures begun by Bertezena were completed under his successor Moka.

* About the year 550.

After various struggles, the Khan was defeated and slain in a great and bloody battle, and his kingdom subdued. Such of the Geougens as continued to adhere to the family of their late prince, fled into other countries. The armies of the Turks soon became numerous; their soldiers, hardened by fatigue and climate, were stout, active and brave; and we find them in the course of a few years extending their conquests to the confines of the dominions of the Persian monarch, from which they were now separated only by the Oxus. From the countries most distant from their seat of government, they only exacted an acknowledgement of vassalage, and the payment of a moderate tribute. Their chief continued to prefer for his place of residence, a valley in the mountains of Altai, to richer countries and more delightful climes. A body of Geougens, who on the conquest of their country fled from thence, had found refuge in the territories of Justinian. An embassy was sent to him by the Turkish chief, requiring that the Geougen emigrants should

either be delivered to him, or obliged to quit his dominions. A second embassy was sent to his successor Justin;* and the prince of Sogdiana, vassal of Mogan, and employed by him on this occasion, was authorized to propose an alliance with Justin against Khosroes. Offers were also made for facilitating the commerce between the Byzantine empire and China; and it may have been in consequence of this treaty that the Turks menaced the Persian territories, just as hostilities were about to be renewed between Tiberius and Khosroes.

Egypt, while it formed part of the Christian Greek Empire, continued to be one of the chief channels of trade for Eastern commodities; but Omar after his conquest of Persia in 632, also in a very few years subdued Syria, Phenicia, Palestine, and Egypt. Under the Khalifs, the trade between India and Egypt seems to have been but in a languid state. The government of the Khalifs in Egypt, ended under

* Sometimes named Justinian II,

Adhad, who in 1169, having applied to Nurradin, king of Damascus, for assistance against the Christians, a large body of troops was accordingly sent to his aid, under the command of Saladin, a Curd soldier of fortune, who by his talents and services, had risen to great eminence, and gained the confidence of his sovereign. Saladin after defending Adhad deposed him, and proclaimed his master Nuraddin sovereign of Egypt: on the death of Adhad in 1171, Saladin assumed the government of Egypt in his own name, and on the death of Nuraddin, he also took possession of Damascus and all his other extensive territories. This Sultan, so well known in European history, for his victories over, and magnanimity towards, the Christians in the Holy Land, died at Damascus in 1193, at the age of 57 years, after a reign of 24. He was succeeded in the government of Syria by his eldest son Malek-Al-Afdhal, and in Egypt by his second son Malek-Al-Aziez. Saladin, soon after his taking possession of Egypt, had formed a chosen corps of

troops, of children of Christian captives, whom he caused to be educated in the Mohammedan religion. To this corps he gave the name of Mamluks, meaning, we believe, slaves. About a hundred years after the death of Saladin, the Mamluks, now a very formidable body, placed an officer of their own to rule over Egypt, and this mode of electing a chief on the demise of the one formerly chosen, continued until the year 1516, when Campson Gaurie, the last Mamluk ruler, was overcome and put to death by Selim I., and Egypt annexed to the Othoman Empire.

The Othomans, after having stripped the Christian Emperors of all their possessions in Asia, carried their conquests in Europe under Amurath I., almost to the walls of Constantinople; which was finally taken in 1459, by Mohammed II., when the last Greek Emperor, Constantine Paleologus, perished in the assault.

The Venetians, in consequence of arrangements with the Greek Emperors, had, from about the middle of the sixth century,

sought to engross the supplying of the western parts of Europe, with the productions of the East: but in the republic of Genoa they found a formidable rival to contend with, both in maritime commerce, and for superiority of naval power. The Genoese not only frequented the ports of the Mediterranean, but even some on the Euxine sea, where the Greek Emperors, in reward for services rendered by them,* al-

* In assisting to recover Constantinople from the Western Christians, who had kept possession of it fifty-seven years; and also for having relieved it when blockaded by a Venetian fleet.

The Croisaders took possession of Constantinople in 1204, and kept it until the 25th of July, 1261, when it was surprised and taken by Michael Paleologus. The chiefs, or, as they named themselves, Emperors, that governed Constantinople during those fifty-seven years were,

Baudouin, or Baldwin, Count of Flanders and Hainault, chosen in 1204.

His brother Henry, who succeeded him in 1206, and who was succeeded in 1216, by,

Peter de Courtenay, Count of Auvergne, who had espoused Iolanda, sister of the two former Emperors.

Robert de Courtenay, son of Peter, chosen in 1218.

Baudoin

lowed them to form establishments at Asoph, Trebisond, or Trapezium, and Caffa, or Theodosia. We also find a gift made to them of the city of Smyrna,* and a grant by Andronicus Paleologus, of a piece of ground near Constantinople, on which they began to build houses and magazines,—the same spot that is now named Pera.—The decline of the Genoese power in the Adriatic and Levant may be ascribed in the first instance, and indeed principally, to the immense loss sustained by them in their unsuccessful attack on the city of Venice, in 1379; from that epoch their influence in

Baudouin, or Baldwin de Courtenay, (brother of Robert) chosen in 1228, who, after the taking of Constantinople, escaped into Italy, where he died in 1273.

The late family of Courtenay was descended from king Louis VI. surnamed *Le Gros*, by Peter, his seventh and youngest son, who, early in the 12th century, married Elizabeth, the eldest daughter and heiress of Renaud de Courtenay, Count of Edessa. The male line of Peter, son of Louis *Le Gros*, became extinct in France, in the person of Charles Roger de Courtenay, who died in 1730.

* Ann. 1261.

the Levant, and with it their commerce, declined, whilst the Venetians became in a short time the only traders for eastern commodities. And though they were threatened to be excluded from this commerce in consequence of sending succours to Constantinople, when besieged by Mohammed II.; yet, having found means to pacify the Turkish government, they seem to have been afterwards as much favoured by it, as they formerly had been by the Christian Emperors.

The discovery of the passage round the Cape of Good Hope, by Vasco de Gama, in 1497, changed the course of trade between Europe and India. The first enterprise was a voyage of discovery only; but on the 10th of February, 1502, Gama was sent back to India with a fleet of twenty vessels of different sizes, and returned to Lisbon on the 1st of September, 1503, with thirteen ships laden with different products of the east. A great part of the traffic of Indian commodities was hence transferred to Lisbon, where it continued until after

the seizure of the kingdom of Portugal by Philip II. and the successful revolt of the people of the United Provinces against that prince. Many of the possessions that had been held in India by the Portuguese, were conquered by the Dutch, who now became the principal European settlers in India, and the chief traders with that country.— It was only on the 31st of December, 1600, that Queen Elizabeth granted a Charter to George, Earl of Cumberland, and others, permitting them to trade to India, under the title of *The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies*. The first adventure was conducted by Captain James Lancaster, who sailed with four vessels in 1601; and returned in September, 1603; having performed his voyage in two years and seven months. Certain commodities continued however to be brought through Persia and Egypt into Europe, but of so little amount, as scarcely to have merited attention. The history of the commerce with India subsequent to that period, is foreign to our purpose.

CHAPTER XIV.

CONCLUSION.

WITH the first accounts we have of India, a mighty empire at once opens to our view; which, in extent, riches, and population, has not we believe been equalled by any one nation on the globe. We find an ingenious and refined system of religion and civil policy established; sciences and arts known and practised; and all of these evidently brought to the degree of perfection they had attained at that remote period, by the accumulated experience of many preceding ages. We see a country abounding in fair and opulent cities; magnificent temples and palaces; useful and ingenious artists employing the precious stones and metals in curious workmanship; manufacturers fabricating cloths, which, in the

fineness of their texture, and the beauty and duration of some of their dyes, have not hitherto been equalled by those of any other nation. Through that immense country the traveller was enabled to journey with ease and safety; the public roads were shaded with trees to defend him from the sun; at convenient distances, buildings were erected for him to repose in; a friendly Brahmin attended to supply his wants; and hospitality and the laws held out assistance and protection to all alike, to the stranger as well as native, of whatever faith or country, without prejudice or partiality.

Their laws, being interwoven with their religious doctrines, perhaps threw too great a preponderance on the side of the priesthood; but the evil which this might have occasioned, seems, in some degree, to have been rectified by the exclusion of the members of that order from temporal offices;*

* This law still exists in force with respect to the Brahmins, who are of the first class of the priesthood; but all who are not of that class, may, in consequence of the changes that have been produced by invasion and

so that while they guarded the people from tyranny, they secured to the sovereign the peaceable and lawful obedience of his subjects.

The sciences, being confined to a particular class, could not be so susceptible of that improvement which they may attain in countries, where the study of them is open to the public at large, and where genius is encouraged and respected in whatever sphere it may appear: the priests in Hindūstān seem early to have foreseen, that extension of knowledge among the other classes of the community, would produce the decline of their authority; and they therefore appear to have guarded against it, with an extraordinary degree of caution. Yet, with all the exceptions that can be made, we must allow, that the laws and government of the Hindūs tended, as much as any others with which we are acquainted, to procure peace, and promote

conquest, now follow other pursuits, provided they be exempt from manual labor. See Note B, *infra*.

happiness. They were calculated to prevent violence, to encourage benevolence and charity, to keep the people united among themselves, and to prevent their tranquillity from being disturbed by the introduction of foreign innovations.

It was never our intention to contend with those who have endeavoured to reduce the chronology of the Indians to the standard of that now in use with European nations; nor to range ourselves with others who have ventured to suppose, that much of what was promulgated, and taught by the legislator of the Hebrews, was learnt by him from the Egyptians, and by these from the Hindūs; or, in other words, that the laws of Moses are to be traced to Hindūstān. On this, we are ready to concur with a learned author;* who, while he admits that communications existed between the Egyptians and Indians, long before the birth of Moses, observes, that “this will in no degree affect the truth and sanctity of

* Sir William Jones.

the Mosaic history.”* Men unwillingly renounce opinions in which they have been nursed, or which they have undertaken to defend :—and those who have been accustomed to admire the philosophers of Greece and Rome, will not easily be brought to admit, that, long before these existed, there were philosophers in India equal to the most celebrated of them, and who in certain sciences were their superiors; that,

* Jones’s Works, vol. iii. p. 391, et seq.

He remarks in the same article, that “ M. Sonnerat refers to a dissertation by Mr. Schmidt, which gained a prize at the Academy of Inscriptions, *On an Egyptian Colony established in India*: it would be worth while to examine his authorities, and either to overturn or verify them by such higher authorities, as are now accessible in these provinces. I strongly incline to think him right; and to believe that Egyptian priests have actually come from the Nile to the Ganga and Yamuna, which the Brahmins most assuredly would never have left: they might, indeed, have come either to be instructed or to instruct; but it seems more probable, that they visited the Surmans of India, as the sages of Greece visited them, rather to acquire than to impart knowledge; nor is it likely, that the self-sufficient Brahmins would have received them as their preceptors.”

when the Greeks were yet in a state of barbarism, the Hindūs were enjoying the advantages of a regular system of civil polity; and that their knowledge, as far as inquiry has gone, appears to have been indigenous, and not furnished to them by strangers.

APPENDIX,
CONTAINING
NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

APPENDIX

OF

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

NOTE A.

(Referred to, vol. i. p. 9.)

*Hindū Accounts of Sandrocotus, King of the Prasii,
and the celebrated Capital of Palibothra.*

SANDROCOTUS, sovereign of the ancient Prasii, is in the Sanscrit language termed Chandra-Gupta, which, according to Mr. Wilford, means *him who was saved by the Moon*. “By Athenæus he is called Sandracoptos, by other writers Sandracottos, and by some Androcottos. He was called Chandra simply; and, accordingly, Diodorus Siculus calls him Xandrames, from Chandra, or Chandram in the accusative case; for, in the western parts of India, the spoken dialects from the Sanscrit do always affect that case.”*

Sir William Jones, from a poem written by Somadeva, and a tragedy called the Coronation of Chandra, or Chandra-Gupta, “discovered, that he really was the Indian king

* Wilford, *As. Researches*, vol. v. p. 234.

mentioned by the historians of Alexander, under the name of Sandracottos. These two poems I have not been able to procure; but I have found another dramatic piece, intitled *Mudra-Racshasa*, or *the Seal of Racshasa*, which is divided into two parts: the first may be called the Coronation of Chandra-Gupta; and the second, the Reconciliation of Chandra-Gupta with Mantri-Racshasa, the prime minister of his father.”*

By Hindū writers it is said, that Maha Nandi, king of Prachi or Prasii, had by a woman of the Sudra cast, a son named Nanda, who succeeded him. Nanda is described as victorious in war, and though fond of amassing wealth, just and wise in government. By his first wife, named Ratnavati, he had nine sons, and by a second, named Mura, Chandra-Gupta and others; who, to distinguish them from those of the first bed, were called, from their mother, Muryas. After the death of Nanda, Chandra-Gupta found means to exclude the race of Ratnavati, and usurp the crown.

“Diodorus Siculus and Curtius relate, that Chandram was of a low tribe, his father being a barber. That he, and his father Nanda too, were of a low tribe, is declared in the Vishnu-purana, and in the Bhagavat Chandram; and that he, as well as his brothers, were called Maurya, from his mother Mura; and as that word,† in Sanscrit, signifies a barber, it furnished occasion to his enemies to asperse him as the spurious offspring of one. Diodorus and Curtius are mistaken in saying, that Chan-

* Wilford, *As. Researches*, vol. v. p. 262.

† “See the *Jutiveca*, where it is said, the offspring of a barber, begot by stealth, of a female of the Sudra tribe, is called Maurya: the offspring of a barber and a slave-woman is called Maurya.”

dram reigned over the Prasii at the time of Alexander's invasion; he was contemporary with Seleucus Nicator."*

Megasthenes was a native of Persia, and appears to have enjoyed the confidence of Sybertius, governor for Seleucus of Arachosia,† the present Candahar and Ghezni. He had been sent at different times into India by Sybertius, and afterwards by Seleucus, as ambassador to the king of the Prasii.

The country of the Prasii and the site of Palibothra, have occasioned so much discussion, that we are induced to state some of the opinions in regard to them, which appear the best entitled to regard.

Major Rennell says, that *the empire of the Prasii seems to have included most of the tract through which the Ganges flows, after it enters the plains of Hindūstān.*‡ But Mr. Wilford, using more positive language, observes:

“ By Prachi, (in Sanscrit,) or the East, is understood all the country from Allahabad to the easternmost limits of Hindūstān: it is called also Purva, an appellation of the same import, and Purob in the spoken dialects. From Prachi is obviously derived the name of Prasii, which the Greeks gave to the inhabitants of this country. It is divided into two parts: the first comprehends all the country from Allahabad to Raj-mehal, and the western branch of the Ganges; the second includes Bengal, the greatest

* Wilford, As. Res. vol. v. p. 285.

† See Arrian, Exp. Alex. lib. v. p. 323, edit. Amst. 1668.

‡ Speaking of this river, he says, that, after quitting the mountainous tract in which it must have wandered above eight hundred miles, it receives in its course through the plains, eleven rivers, some of them as large as the Rhine, and none smaller than the Thames, besides as many more of lesser note.

part of which is known in Sanscrit under the name of *Gancara-desā*,* or country of Gancara, from which the Greeks made Gangaridas, or Gangaridai, in the first case. Gancara is still the name of a small district near the summit of the Delta."

"The capital city of Prachi Proper, or the western part of it, is declared to be Raj-griha, or the royal mansion. According to the Puranas, it was built by a son of king Prithu, called Haryacsha. It was afterwards taken by Bala-Rama, the brother of Crishna, who rebuilt it, and assigned it as a residence for one of his sons, who are called in general Baliputras, or the children of Bala. From this circumstance it was called Balipura, or the town of the son of Bala; but in the spoken dialects it was called Bali-putra, because a putra, or son of Bali, resided in it. From Bali-putra, the Greeks made Palipatra and Palibothra, and the inhabitants of the country, of which it was the capital, they denominated Palibothri."

"Diodorus Siculus, speaking of Palibothra, says, that it had been built by the Indian Hercules; who, according to Megasthenes, as quoted by Arrian, was worshipped by the Suraseni. Their chief cities were Methora and Clisobora: the first is now called Mathura, the other, Mugunagur, by the Musulmans, and Calisapura, by the Hindūs. The whole country about Mathura is called Surasena, to this day, by learned Brahmins."

"The Indian Hercules, according to Cicero, was called Belus. He is the same with Bala, the brother of Crishna, and both are conjointly worshipped at Mathura; indeed, they are considered as one Avatara, or incarnation of

* This word I am assured by persons intimately acquainted with the Sanscrit, has never been met with by them in that language.

Vishnu. Bala is represented as a stout man, with a club in his hand. He is called also Bala-Roma. To decline the word Bala, you must begin with Balas, which I conceive to be an obsolete form, preserved only for the purpose of declension, and etymological derivation. The first *a* in Bali is pronounced like the first *a* in America, in the eastern parts of India: but in the western parts, and in Benares, it is pronounced exactly like the French *e*; thus the difference between Balas and Belus is not very great. As Bala sprung from Vishnu, or Heri, he is certainly Hericula, Heri-culas, and Hercules. Diodorus Siculus says, that the posterity of Hercules reigned for many centuries in Palibothra, but that they did nothing worthy of being recorded; and, indeed, their names are not even mentioned in the Puranas."

"In the Ganga-mahatmya, in which all places of worship, and others of note, on the banks of the Ganges, are mentioned, the present town of Raj-mehal is positively declared to be the ancient city of Raj-griha of the Puranas, the capital of Prachi, which afterwards was called Bali-putra."

"Raj-griha in Bengalee and Raj-mehal in Persian, signifies the same thing. It is also called by the natives Raj-mandalam; and by Ptolemy, Palibothra-mandalon, for Bali-putra-mandalam: the first signifies the royal mansion, and the second the mansion of the Bala-putras. In a more extensive sense, Mandalam signifies the Circle, or country belonging to the Bali-putras. In this sense we say Coro-mandel, for Cholo, or rather Iala-mandal."

"Here I must observe, the present Raj-mehal is not precisely on the spot where the ancient Raj-griha, or Bali-putra, stood, owing to the strange devastation of the Ganges in that part of the country for several centuries

past. These devastations are attested by universal tradition, as well as by historical records, and the concurring testimony of Ralph, Fitch, Tavernier, and other European travellers of the last century. When I was at Raj-mehal in January last, I was desirous of making particular inquiries on the spot, but I could only meet with a few Brahmins, and those very ignorant; all they could tell me was, that in former ages, Raj-mehal, or Raj-mandal, was an immense city; that it extended as far as the eastern limits of Boglipooore towards Terriagully; but that the Ganges, which formerly ran a great way towards the N. E. and E. had swallowed it up; and that the present Raj-mehal, formerly a suburb of the ancient city, was all that remained of that famous place. For further particulars they referred me to learned Pundits, who unfortunately lived in the interior parts of the country."

" In the Mudra-racshasa it is declared, that the city in which Chandra-Gupta, or Sandrocotus, resided, was to the north of the hills; and, from some particular circumstances that will be noticed hereafter, it appears that they could not be above five or six miles distant from it. Megasthenes informs us also, that this famous city was situated near the confluence of the Erannoboas with the Ganges. The Erannoboas has been supposed to be the Sone, which has the epithet of Hiran-ya-baha, or *gold wasting*, given to it in some poems. The Sone, however, is mentioned as a distinct river from the Erannoboas, both by Pliny and Arrian, on the authority of Megasthenes: and the word Hiran-ya-baha, from which the Greeks made Erannoboas, is not a *proper* name, but an *appellative*, (as the Greek Chrysorhoas) applicable, and which is applied, to any river that rolls down particles of gold with its sands. Most rivers in India, as well as in Europe,

and more particularly the Ganges, with all the rivers that come down from the northern hills, are famous in ancient history for their golden sands. The Cossoanus of Arrian, or Cossoagus of Pliny, is not the river Coosy, but the Cossanor Cattan, called also Cossay, Cossar, and Cassay, which runs through the province of Midnapoor, and joins the remains of the western branch of the Ganges, below Nanga-Cussan."

"The Erannoboas, now the Coosy, has greatly altered its course for several centuries past; it now joins the Ganges, about five-and-twenty miles above the place where it united with that river, in the days of Megasthenes; but the old bed, with a small stream, is still visible, and is called to this day, Puranah-bahah, the old Coosy, or *the old channel*. It is well delineated in Major Rennell's Atlas; and it joins an arm of the Ganges, formerly the bed of that river, near a place called Nabob-gunge. From Nabob-gunge, the Ganges formerly took an extensive sweep to the eastward, towards Hyatpoor; and the old banks of the river are still visible in that direction. From these facts, supported by a close inspection of the country, I am of opinion, that Baliputra was situated near the confluence of the old Coosy with the Ganges, and on the spot where the villages of Mynyaree and Bissunt-poor-gola, now stand; the Ganges proceeding at that time in an easterly direction from Nabob-gunge, and to the north of these villages. The fortified part of Palibothra, according to Megasthenes, extended about ten miles in length, while the breadth was only two; but the suburbs, which extended along the banks of the Ganges, were, I doubt not, ten or fifteen miles in length. Thus Dehli, whilst in a flourishing state, extended above thirty miles along the banks of the Jumna;

but, except about the centre of the town, consisted properly of only a single street, parallel to the river."

"The ancient geographers, Strabo, Ptolemy, and Pliny, have described the situation of Palibothra in such a manner that it is hardly possible to mistake it.

"Strabo, who cites Artemidorus, says, that the Ganges, on its entering the plains of India, runs in a south direction as far as a town called Ganges, (Ganga-puri) now Allahabad, and from thence, with an easterly course, as far as Palibothra; thence to the sea, (according to the Chrestomathia from Strabo) in a southerly direction. No other place but that which we have assigned for the site of Bali-putra, answers to this description of Artemidorus."

"Pliny, from Megasthenes, who, according to Strabo, had repeatedly visited the court of Chandra-Gupta, says, that Palibothra was 425 Roman miles from the confluence of the Jumna with the Ganges. Here it is necessary to premise, that Megasthenes says, the highways in India were measured, and that at the end of a certain Indian measure (which is not named, but it is said to be equal to ten stadia) there was a *cippus*, or sort of column, erected. No Indian measure answers to this, but the Brahmeni, or astronomical coss of *four* to a *yojana*. This is the Hindū *statute* coss. It is used to this day by astronomers, and by the inhabitants of the Panjab; hence it is very often called the Panjabi-coss: thus the distance from Lahor to Multan is reckoned, to this day, to be 145 Panjabi, or 90 common coss."

"In order to ascertain the number of Brahmeni coss, reckoned formerly between Allahabad and Palibothra, multiply the 425 Roman miles by eight, (for Pliny reckoned so many stadia to a mile) and divide the whole by ten, (the number of stadia to a coss according to Megast-

thenes) and we shall have 340 Brahmeni-coss, or 417-18 British miles; and this will bring us to within two miles of the confluence of the old Coosy with the Ganges.”*

Mr. Wilford, in support of his opinion, that Palibothra stood “near the confluence of the old Coosy with the Gauges,” on a site near the spot where Rajamahā now stands, gives the distance, mentioned by Strabo, from Palibothra to the sea; and the distances, given by Ptolemy, from Palibothra to several towns situated on the banks of the Ganges, above and below it. It is not necessary to follow him through this part of his observations: they contain, however, many things deserving the attention of the curious.

Robertson supposes Palibothra, or Patali-putra, to have stood at or near to the present Allahabad; but, at the time he wrote, he did not possess the great body of information concerning India that has been since obtained.†

The question then, where Palibothra stood, seems now to be brought to this issue, either to adopt the opinions of Jones and Rennell, that it was at Patna, or the opinion of Wilford, that it was at Rajamahā; but it is proved beyond all doubt, that, besides Palibothra, there were anciently other immense cities in those parts of India.

* On the Chronology of the Hindūs, *As. Res.* vol. v. p. 269, et seq.

† See *Disq. on Ancient India*, Note xiv. p. 307. (8vo. edit.)

NOTE B.

(Referred to, vol. i. pp. 270, 272, and p. 320, of this volume.)

On the Origin of Casts in India; together with an Account of the different Classes of Brahmins, and their respective Pursuits.

THE division into four distinct casts or tribes, of a people so numerous as the Hindūs, and diffused over so large a portion of the globe, together with the invariable duration of that institution through a series of so many ages, is perhaps one of the most extraordinary circumstances to be found in the history of social order; especially when the humble state of the fourth class, or great body of the people, is considered.

The Hindū tradition concerning the origin of casts is, that, on the creation of human beings, the Brahmins proceeded from the mouth of Brahma; the Cshatryas from his arms; the Vaisyas from his thighs; and the Sudras from his feet. To the first was committed the instruction of mankind; to the second, their protection; to the third, the cares of traffic and agriculture; and to the fourth, servitude.

With respect to the privileged cast of Brahmins, when the Hindū institutions existed in their purity, there were four religious orders (Asrama) to one of which every Brah-

min belonged ; the two first were obligatory, the other two optional.

I. The Brachmāchari, or those who studied, and occupied themselves with the study of theology. The second book of the Institutes of Menu contains the rules of this order. The principal of these are, residence in the house where they study and are instructed, strict celibacy, and subsisting on alms.

II. The Griharta, or housekeeper. The third, fourth, and fifth books of Menu comprise rules for his observance, and the means by which he may lawfully gain a subsistence.

III. The Vanaprastha, or hermit, having no house or fixed habitation, but living in woods, and generally retired from the usual haunts of man.

IV. The Yati, or Yoghi, who devotes himself to penances and the performance of extraordinary vows.

The Griharta, or Brahmin-householder, is directed to derive a subsistence from sacrificing and teaching ; and to employ his time in study. Hence there is a great variety of appellations for the various sub-divisions of such employments ; as, 1st, Guru, a spiritual preceptor ;—2d, Acharya, a teacher of the Vedas ;—3d, Upadhyaya, a teacher of a particular part of it ;—4th, Ritvij, an officiating priest ;—5th, Purochita, a family priest to a king, or man of rank ;—6th, Yajya, one who gains a subsistence by performing sacrifices for individuals ;—7th, Grama Yajyaca, a priest hired by the inhabitants of a village to perform religious rites ;—8th, Devalaca, a priest who has the charge of a temple. The three last offices are considered to be mean, and are never held by men of learning or family. Besides the above appellations, there are innumerable others, derived from the particular studies to which individuals

have devoted themselves ; as, Srotriya, one skilled in the Vesta ;—Smarta, learned in the law ;—Jyautisha, an astrologer, &c. &c.

Brahmins exercising these functions, and distinguished by these appellations, are found over every part of India at this day. But, exclusive of the occupations assigned by Menu to the sacerdotal class, multitudes of Brahmins are now found in the army and engaged in commerce. This deviation is not the consequence of distinctions among them, but the result of the general license granted by Menu, *in times of distress*, to seek a subsistence by the duties of inferior classes, when it cannot be procured by their own. The permission and its restrictions are contained in the tenth book of the Institutes of Menu. The whole period that has elapsed since the conquest of India, by the Mohammedans, is considered by Hindū casuists as a time of distress ; and individuals have sought a subsistence, or fortune, by professions from which they were originally excluded. In a country where every man pursues the profession of his father, this naturally led to certain families of Brahmins becoming, in their occupations and pursuits, entirely secular, though this circumstance does not at all detract from the respect they personally require from the inferior classes, or exempt them from restrictions in regard to diet, from mixing with other tribes, or from the observance of other rules originally prescribed to their class.

NOTE C.

(Referred to, vol. i. p. 301.)

Historical Sketch of the Mahrattas.

THE first person upon record, who distinguished himself as chief of the Mahratta nation, and who may be considered as the founder of their empire, was Seeva, or Seeva-jee, who began to flourish so lately as about the middle of the 17th century. His great grandfather, Bhau-gah Booslah, is said to have been an illegitimate son of Rana Bheem, sovereign of the Rajahpoot State of Oudiapoor, and of the most ancient race of Hindū princes. Booslah finding himself, on account of the illegitimacy of his birth and the obscure origin of his mother, of no consideration at Oudiapoor, went into Candeish, where, after having acquired considerable wealth and reputation in the service of a Rajah of that province, he quitted it, and purchased a tract of land near to the city of Poonah. Booslah left a son, named Maulo-jee, who, after the death of his father, entered into the service of a chief, named Jaddoo Roy. His son, named Shah-jee, married the only daughter of Jaddoo. From that marriage was born Seeva-jee, in the year 1628. In consequence of a dispute between Jaddoo Roy and his son-in-law Shah-jee, the latter, quitting him, entered into the service of the King of Beejapoor, who gave him the command of 10,000 horse, and, as is frequently practised in India, a Jagheer for the

charge of maintaining them. Shah-jee married a second wife, named Toka Bee, by whom he had a son, named Eko-jee, who was afterwards Rajah of Tanjore. Shah-jee was killed, in 1667, by a fall from his horse in hunting, and was succeeded by his son, Seeva-jee. The King of Beejapour dying, Seeva-jee, taking advantage of feuds that then prevailed, resolved to make himself independent; he accordingly took arms, and, having made himself master of several important places, they were afterwards, together with their territories, ceded to him by his late master's widow, who exercised the office of Regent.* Seeva-jee established his chief residence at Sattarah, about fifty miles from Poonah. Having declared hostility to the Mohammedans, numerous Hindūs resorted to his standard. Aurengzebe, unable to subdue him, and finding some of his finest provinces constantly exposed to his incursions, entered into an accommodation with him, by which the Mahrattas pretend, that he consented to their having a certain part of the clear revenue of the Deckhan, which has been denominated *Choute*. This real or pretended arrangement, furnished them with a pretext for invading the territories of the different princes and viceroys of the southern provinces of the empire, in order to levy what was claimed by them.

Seeva-jee, who had taken the title of Rajah of Satarah, dying in the year 1680, left the extensive territories he had acquired to his son Samba-jee. In 1689, Samba-jee was assassinated, and, it is alleged, at the instigation of Aurengzebe, with whom war had been renewed. He was succeeded by his son Saho-jee, or, as named by some, Rajah

* Tavernier mentions his having seen this Queen-Regent.

Sahou, who, as he advanced in life becoming infirm and indolent, delegated to his minister, Balla-jee Bishwanaut, a Brahmin, born at Gokum, the cares of government and the entire exercise of his power, with the title of Mookhperdhaun, or chief civil magistrate.*

Rajah Sahou, or Saho-jee, died without issue in 1740, after a reign of fifty years, leaving nephews by his brother. The wisdom of the administration of Balla-jee Bishwanaut, during the time he had enjoyed the office of Mookh, or Peishwah, had gained him the love and confidence of the people and army ; but the sentiments of gratitude and loyalty were absorbed by ambition to rule.—He made use of the influence he had acquired under his benefactor, so firmly to establish his power, that he not only retained the high office of Peishwah during his life, but transmitted it to his posterity, and this form of government has subsisted ever since. On the death of a Peishwah, his son, or in failure of a son, his next male relation, succeeds to his title and authority.

Saho-jee, during the latter years of his life, having shut himself up in the fortress of Sattarah, was never seen by the public ; and the Mahrattas, forgetting his rights with his person, looked up to and obeyed his vicegerent only. The mean capacity of his successor, Ram Rajah, was another favourable circumstance for consolidating the power of Bishwanaut, who, on his decease, was succeeded in the full enjoyment of the authority he had exercised by his son, Bajee-Rao. At that time Rago-jee

* The Persian word *Peishwah*, responding to *Mookh*, is generally employed in speaking of this office, but *Mookh* only is engraved on the seal of the person who holds this office.—Marquis of Wellesley's History of the Mahratta War, Appendix, p. 5.

Booslah, of the family of Seeva-jee, was Buckshi, or chief commander of the Satarah troops, and held the province of Berar as a Jagheer. Discontented at the usurpations of the Peishwah, he retired to Berar, which he retained under his own dominion, acknowledging, however, the Satarah Rajah as his liege lord and chief.

The descendants of Seeva-jee still exist, and reside in the fortress of Satarah; where, though in fact prisoners, the eldest in succession is nominally considered as sovereign of the Mahratta nation. The Peishwah, on succeeding to that office, receives a dress of honour from him; before he takes the field in person he goes to Satarah, to have an audience of leave from him, and the country, to a certain extent round Satarah, is secure against all military exactions, and held in respect.

All negotiations, on the part of the Mahratta nation, generally considered, are carried on, and the treaties that may result from them concluded, by the Peishwah only; they are held to be obligatory upon all Mahratta chieftains and feudatories, even though not consulted in regard to them, as being made in the name of the supreme head of the state, the Peishwah apparently acting by his authority. But several of those chiefs, in consequence of the weakness of the Peishwah's government, for some time past, and of the frequent contentions, which have arisen among the members of the family itself, are in fact become independent, although they still continue to acknowledge the Peishwah as the executive minister of state.

“ They possess no acknowledged right, however, to conclude separate engagements with foreign states, unless the tacit permission to make conquests* should be thought

* “ When the province of Malwa was assigned to Holkar and Scindiah, for the payment of their troops, it was stipulated, that of the

to confer that right; but even in this case it must also be inferred, that they have not the right to conclude engagements affecting the Peishwah's supremacy. They are bound to pay allegiance to the Peishwah, and are to every intent officers and subjects of the Mahratta state, of which the Peishwah is the supreme executive authority."*

The principal chiefs of the Mahratta nation, are,

1. The Peishwah, whose capital and place of residence is the city of Poonah.

2. The Holkar family, whose capital is Indore, a city of Malwa.

3. The Scindiah family, whose capital, we believe, is now Oujein. The late Madha-jee Scindiah, who died at the beginning of 1794, extended his territories over a great part of the northern provinces of Hindūstān, got possession of Dehly and the person of the Mogul Emperor, in whose name he affected to act as first minister. He was succeeded by his nephew, Dowlat Row Scindiah, whom he had adopted as his son.

4. The Rajah of Berar, who does not indeed possess so great a military force as Scindiah had, though his government is more solidly established, and his person more respected. The province of Berar, as has been observed, formed part of the dominions of the Rajah of Satarah. Rago-jee Boosolah, the first Rajah of Berar, and from whom the present Rajah is descended, was of the Satarah family; and, though he has acted with the Peishwah

conquests which they might atchieve, one portion should belong to the Peishwah, and another portion to Holkar and Scindiah respectively."—*Note of the Marquis of Wellesley—History of the Mahratta War, Appendix, p. 9.*

* Marquis of Wellesley, *ibid.*

on many occasions, yet we do not believe that he ever acknowledged himself to be subordinate to him, or obliged to enter into his plans.

Besides these four principal chiefs, there are several other Rajahs of inferior note.*

Before the Mahrattas, like some of the other Indian powers, began to entertain Europeans in their service, and adopt and imitate the European discipline and tactics, the strength of a Mahratta army consisted almost entirely of cavalry. Both horse and rider were inured to fatigue. Great bodies of cavalry have been known to march at the rate of fifty and sixty miles a day for some days successively. Some parts of the Mahratta countries abound with horses, and produce a breed, much esteemed, called the Bheemerteddy horse; but the common Mahratta war-horse is a large-boned ill-looking animal. The only weapon used by horsemen is a sabre, in the choice of which they are very curious and intelligent. They learn the use of it, and dexterity in the management of the horse, from their infancy. Their dress, in war, consists of a quilted jacket of cotton cloth, which is perhaps a better defence against cuts of the sword than any other light military dress; under it is a vest of linen, made to fit close to the body, and cross over the breast. The jacket is taken off when its warmth proves inconvenient. A pair of pantaloons, fastened round the middle, over the end of the vest, descends to the ankles. On the head a broad turban is worn, which descending behind, and on each side of the head, nearly as low as the top of the shoulder, defends the head and neck both from the heat of the sun and from the

* For an account of them see the Marquis of Wellesley's History of the Mahratta War, Appendix, p. 27, et seq.

sword of the enemy. Food for the rider and his horse, to be had recourse to in case of emergency, is contained in a small bag tied tight upon the saddle. That for the rider consists in a few cakes, a small quantity of rice or flour, and some salt and spices: that of the horse, of a kind of black peas called *gram*, and balls made of the meal of those peas mixed with *ghee** and some hot herbs or spices. Those balls are given by way of cordial, to restore the vigour of the horse after extraordinary fatigue, and it is said that a small quantity of *bang* is sometimes added, a drug which, if taken moderately, exhilarates the spirits; but, if taken in large quantities, it produces a sort of furious intoxication. Tents, except a few for some of the principal officers, were rarely used. Their irruptions were frequently so sudden, and so rapidly executed, that the first intelligence of their hostile intentions was their appearance in the territories they designed to invade. In consequence of their frequent wars, there are few countries in Hindūstān which are not perfectly known to them. Detached parties precede the main army; others scour the country on either flank, and the provisions they can collect are driven towards the spot where the main army is to halt. As hay is scarcely ever made in the southern parts of India, the horses are accustomed to eat grass dug up by the roots, which afford a considerable degree of nourishment, and correct the purgative quality of the blade. The rider having first provided for his horse, goes to his own temperate meal, which having finished, he lies down perfectly contented by his side, and on the first stroke of the *nagar*, or great drum, instantly mounts him again.

* A sort of clarified butter.

The Mahrattas relate strange accounts of the extraordinary sagacity of their horses ; and indeed, from their being constantly with their riders, who are fond of caressing and talking to them, they acquire the intelligence and docility of small domestic animals.

If the intention of the Mahrattas in invading a country, be to resent some injury, force its sovereign to pay the *choute*, or comply with any other demand, their devastations are then terrible : they drive off the cattle, destroy the harvest, pillage and burn the villages, and maim and cut down all who may resist their requisitions, or attempt to conceal their effects. On the report of their approach, the frightened inhabitants fly for refuge to the hills, to the woods, and under the walls of fortified towns. The rapidity of their motions leaves but little chance of bringing them to a general action ; and the mischief done by their incursions, has frequently induced the party menaced or attacked by them, to obtain peace or procure their departure by complying with their demands.

Such were their armies and mode of warfare, previous to the introduction of foreign innovations. Such were they under Seeva-jee and other leaders, and when they obliged Aurengzebe himself to enter into arrangements with them.

To conclude :—In referring to those times, and even to the epoch when the author left India, he may perhaps be authorised to repeat what he has said in another place. “ If we only view the Mahrattas as engaged in warfare, they must necessarily sometimes appear as the most cruel of barbarians ; but if we enter their country as travellers, and consider them in a state of peaceful society, we find them strictly adhering to the principles of their religion ; in harmony among themselves, and ready to receive and

assist the stranger. The excesses they commit, therefore, cannot fairly be ascribed to a natural ferocity of character, but perhaps may be dictated by policy, or inspired by revenge: they may sometimes wish to obtain that by the dread of their invasions, which otherwise would only be effected by a tedious war; or sometimes to be provoked to retaliate on the Mohammedans the cruelties they have long exercised upon their countrymen.”*

Anquetil, in his preliminary discourse to the *Zenda-Avesta*, says:

“The country of the Mahrattas is generally an open country.† The people are cheerful, strong, and healthy, and reckon for their security on their courage and their arms. Their principal force is in their cavalry. Hospitality is their ruling virtue. Their country appeared to me, that of nature—I fancied myself, when speaking with the Mahrattas, to be conversing with men of the first ages of the world.”

NOTE D.

(Referred to, vol. ii. p. 83.)

Additional Remarks on the Astronomy of the Hindūs by M. Delambre.

THE preceding observations on the astronomy of the Hindūs having been submitted in manuscript to Mr. Delambre,‡ he was pleased to address the following letter

* Sketches of the Hindūs, vol. ii. pp. 307, 308.

† Meaning the parts of it that he had visited.

‡ Mr. Delambre has been long distinguished as an active member

and remarks to the author, which, as throwing further light on this interesting subject, the reader may not be displeased to peruse:—

“ Le Mémoire que M. Chevalier m’a transmis de votre part, Monsieur, étoit bien fait pour exciter ma curiosité. Je l’ai lû tout aussitôt et tout entier, et j’ai mis par écrit les réflexions qu’il m’a suggérées. Je suis presque en tout de l’avis de l’auteur. Je pense que les Indiens sont les inventeurs de leur astronomie, car s’ils ne la tiennent ni des Grecs, ni des Arabes, je ne vois pas bien de quel peuple ils pourroient l’avoir empruntée. Je leur accorde donc sans aucune difficulté toutes les connoissances exposées dans les ouvrages qui nous sont connus par les Mémoires de Calcutta. Mais je ne suis pas pleinement convaincu que l’époque de leurs tables pour l’an 3102 avant notre ère soit réellement fondée sur des observations faites à une époque aussi reculée ; je serois charmé que la chose fût vraie, mais quoique je la désire, je ne l’admettrai cependant que sur des preuves plus positives ; je ne la rejette pas non plus ; je ne demande que la permission de douter et de croire que cette époque a pu être conclue par le calcul, d’après des observations un peu moins anciennes. Mais en quel tems ces observations ont-elles été faites ; est-ce dans le 13^{me} siècle de notre ère ; est-ce dans l’intervalle ? Je n’en sais absolument rien ; mais rien n’empêche que ce ne soit dans un tems antérieur à l’école d’Alexandrie. Il est fort à désirer que vos savans compatriotes puissent découvrir et nous faire connoître quelque autre

and secretary of the class of Mathematical Sciences, of the *Institute* or Royal Academy at Paris. He was nominated by His Majesty Louis XVIII. one of the Council for superintending and directing education in France instead of the University established by Napoleon Buonaparte.

ouvrage Indien qui contienne avec un certain détail les observations sur lesquelles ont été fondées, et successivement améliorées, les théories qu'ils nous ont déjà expliquées : jusques là il me semble impossible d'assurer que tous les doutes soient levés. Ce vœu sera-t-il jamais réalisé ? J'en doute. Ce n'est que dans ces derniers qu'on a publié des recueils d'observations. Les Grecs eux-mêmes ne nous en ont transmis qu'un petit nombre, les Arabes en ont été tout aussi sobres. L'air de mystère que les Egyptiens et les Indiens ont toujours affecté dans tout ce qui regarde l'astronomie, me fait croire que nous n'avons plus rien à apprendre d'eux."

" Agréez l'assurance, &c.

" DELAMBRE."

" Le Mémoire sur* l'Astronomie des Indiens est clair et intéressant ; on y trouve un extrait impartial de tout ce qui a été écrit sur cette question, pour ou contre, dans les Mémoires de Calcutta, dans l'Astronomie Indienne de Bailly, dans l'Exposition du Système du Monde par M. le Comte La Place, et enfin par Mr. Playfair dans les Mémoires d'Edimbourg. J'ai toujours pensé, comme l'auteur, que l'astronomie est fort ancienne dans l'Inde ; qu'il est peu vraisemblable que les Indiens aient été instruits par les Arabes ou par les Grecs, et moins encore par les Européens plus modernes. J'ai écrit que c'est à eux que nous devons l'arithmétique décimale et les plus anciennes tables de sinus.

" En rendant compte de la traduction Française des deux premiers volumes des Mémoires de Calcutta, dans la Connaissance des Temps de 1808, page 442 et suivantes, je disois que dans le 2nd volume Mr. Davis combattoit

* Chap. viij. pp. 1—83, of the present volume.

victorieusement l'assertion de Ducham, Bailly, et Le Gentil, qui prétendoient que les Indiens ont, pour calculer les éclipses, des méthodes qu'ils suivent sans y rien entendre ; que j'avois revu tous les calculs avec attention, et que leur doctrine, telle qu'elle est exposée par Mr. Davis d'après le Souria-Siddanta, a toute la clarté que comporte la matière ; que quelques calculateurs peuvent opérer par routine, mais que les principes n'étoient pas perdus, et qu'ils peuvent être entendus et jugés par tous ceux qui connoissent la langue. Sur la table des sinus, je montrois comment les Indiens les avoient calculés par deux méthodes différentes que je ramenois à nos formules. L'une de ces méthodes est directe ; elle est fondée sur des théorèmes qui peuvent donner tous les sinus de $3^{\circ} 45'$ en $3^{\circ} 45'$, mais qui ne peuvent donner que ceux-là. C'est la raison pour laquelle la table Indienne ne contient que 24 sinus. Ces théorèmes étoient également connus des Grecs qui avoient trouvé pour les cordes l'équivalent de ce que nous avons pour les sinus.

“ L'autre méthode est encore plus curieuse ; elle montre que les Indiens savoient calculer les différences secondes des sinus, connoissance qu'on chercheroit inutilement chez les Grecs, et même chez les modernes jusqu'à Briggs,* qui dans la préface de ses tables trigonométriques, est arrivé au même théorème que les Indiens, et qui comme eux paroît avoir trouvé par le fait la constante de l'expression de la seconde différence. Comme les Indiens, il ignoroit que cette constante est le carré de la corde de l'intervalle suivant lequel procède la table. Pour les Indiens c'est le carré de la corde de l'arc de $3^{\circ} 45'$ ou 0,0042821, ou bien $\frac{1}{233.53}$. Avec ce facteur constant,

* Henry Briggs, Savilian professor of geometry at Oxford. He died there, January, 1630.

qu'il suffit de multiplier par le dernier sinus trouvé, on aura successivement toutes les différences secondes qui serviront à trouver les différences premières, lesquelles à leur tour donneront les sinus. Tout le problème de la construction de la table se réduit donc à trouver le premier sinus, qui est aussi la première des différences premières; pour cela j'indique un procédé rigoureux que je compare à celui de l'auteur Indien, lequel se trouve d'une exactitude suffisante. Je construis donc la table toute entière, et je montre qu'elle est parfaitement d'accord avec la table Indienne.

“ Au lieu du diviseur 233.53, il paroît que Mr. Davis a par mégarde écrit 255, qui est le premier sinus et la première des premières différences. Cette faute de copie m'avoit d'abord empêché de sentir la justesse et le mérite de la méthode.

“ Quand je trouvai cette méthode pour calculer nos tables de sinus pour la division décimale du cercle, j'ignorois qu'elle eût été mise en pratique par les Indiens plusieurs siècles auparavant; mais je l'ai présentée d'une manière plus claire et plus rigoureuse.

“ Leur théorie pour calculer les tables d'équation du centre, étoit incomplète et inexacte. Quoiqu'ils se servissent d'épicycles, ainsi que les Grecs, ce calcul étoit chez eux moins géométrique et moins juste que celui de Ptolomée. De 90° à 180° ils faisoient revenir en ordre inverse les équations des 90 premiers degrés. A cet égard les Grecs étoient plus avancés que les Hindous; leur trigonométrie étoit moins incomplète, quoique celle des Hindous ressemble plus à la nôtre. On voit que les Hindous savoient que les différences premières de l'équation sont proportionnelles au sinus de l'anomalie, ou ce qui revient à peu-près au même, que les différences premières des sinus sont comme les cosinus.

“ Quant à l'antiquité du Souria-Siddanta, je ne me permettois pas d'avoir un avis. Un savant Anglais, qui lui avoit d'abord donné 3840 ans d'antiquité, a depuis reconnu qu'il devoit être de l'an 1268 de notre ère.

“ A ne considérer que la forme des tables, leurs idées sur la précession des équinoxes, leur obliquité et leur théorie des éclipses, on croiroit les auteurs des livres Hindous plus anciens que l'école d'Alexandrie. D'un autre côté, en leur voyant des connoissances qu'on ne trouve pas chez les Grecs, on seroit tenté de les croire plus modernes. Tout ce qu'ils ont de commun, c'est le système des épicycles pour les planètes, mais moins parfait que celui des Grecs ; d'où l'on pourroit conjecturer que la doctrine des Indiens a passé en Grèce, où elle s'est étendue et perfectionnée : il paroît moins naturel de penser que les Hindous aient reçu des Grecs, par l'entremise des Arabes, des théories qu'on ne trouve chez eux qu'incomplètes et défigurées.

“ Telle est en substance mon opinion, telle que je la publiais en Mai, 1806. Ce que j'ai lû depuis sur la même question, n'a pas levé mes doutes.

“ Mr. La Place, qui avoit quelque intérêt à soutenir la grande ancienneté de l'astronomie Indienne, et qui avoit d'abord parlé des mouvemens moyens et des époques des Hindous de la manière la plus avantageuse, a fini pourtant comme le savant Anglais par croire et imprimer que leurs tables ne remontent pas au-delà du 13^{me} siècle. Mr. Playfair, en répondant à l'objection de Mr. de La Place, ne la détruit pas. Peu importe que Bailly ait affirmé plus ou moins directement et positivement la conjonction générale des planètes, qui a déterminé l'époque ; ce qu'il falloit éclaircir est un fait. Les tables indiquent-elles en effet cette conjonction, l'époque alors est fictive, et l'astronomie Indienne est beaucoup plus moderne. Les

tables n'indiquent-elles pas cette conjonction, alors l'objection de M. de La Place tombe d'elle-même. C'est ce que ne dit pas Mr. Playfair, et c'est ce que je n'ai pas le tems de vérifier. Mais quand même l'objection seroit sans force, il resteroit bien d'autres difficultés. Ce ne sont pas quelques rencontres heureuses parmi une foule de calculs erronés ou incohérens, qui suffiroient pour prouver l'antiquité de l'astronomie Indienne. La forme mystérieuse de leurs tables et de leurs méthodes, suffiroit pour donner des soupçons sur leur véracité. C'est une question qui probablement ne sera jamais décidée, et qui ne pourroit l'être que par de nouvelles découvertes dans les écrits des Hindous, et par un traité beaucoup plus gros et moins amusant que celui de Bailly. Tout ce qu'on peut dire pour le présent, a été dit ou peu s'en faut. L'auteur du mémoire l'a présenté avec beaucoup de lucidité, d'intérêt et de fidélité. La lecture de son écrit est attachante; j'en dis autant des notes, où j'ai trouvé des détails curieux sur le calendrier et sur les monumens des Hindous."

" DELAMBRE."

Paris, 21 Juillet, 1814.

NOTE E.

(Referred to, p. 132, of this volume.)

On some Practices peculiar to the Hindūs.

IN India, as in other countries, we find practices peculiar to particular places, or certain families; but which being confined to these, must not be confounded with the character, manners, and customs of the people at large, but

ought to be considered as extraneous and apart from these. Particular attention should therefore be had to distinguish what is local or partial from what is general.

In the article of the Asiatic Researches referred to above, it is allowed that some cruel practices which are mentioned, very rarely happen; and when they occur they seem to excite as great horror among the natives as Europeans. One of these is termed *Setting up the Koor*.^{*} It consists in erecting a circular pile of wood, on which a cow or an old woman is placed. The reason of chusing a cow, it being a sacred animal, may be understood; but chusing a poor old woman as its substitute, is not so easily comprehended. The intention of the measure is to procure compliance by fear, with what has been refused to entreaty; for if fire be set to the pile, and the woman or cow perish, inevitable mischief, it is supposed, will be the consequence to those, whose refusal to what was required had occasioned the measure to be resorted to. Only one instance of *setting up the Koor* had ever come to the knowledge of the author of the article. It happened in 1788. Every thing was prepared for execution: an old woman had already mounted the pile, when the European superintendant of the district, being apprized of what was doing, prevented its accomplishment. But the old lady, who had been thus rescued from death, so far from complaining of what had been done, peremptorily refused to appear to give evidence against the offender, threatening to destroy herself should any compulsion be used to make her do so.

Nothing certainly can be more monstrous than this and some other practices which are mentioned, or more absurd

^{*} See Asiatic Researches, vol. iv. p. 357, et seq.

than their pretended effects; but in opposition to these, let us place the scandalous excesses that were produced in our own country, even not many years ago, by the belief in witchcraft, and the notion that still prevails in the Highlands of Scotland, of certain persons, and even whole families, possessing hereditarily what is termed *Second Sight*, meaning, the power of looking into futurity, and of knowing events happening at the instant, at places the most remote from them. It is a practice but too frequent among travellers, to form a judgment respecting the characters of nations from partial circumstances, or things with which they occasionally meet. Those who are better informed, may smile at their conclusions, but the majority of readers are exposed to be led into error by them. Though in the works of some of the early travellers and missionaries in India much curious information is to be found, yet we see almost all of them persuaded that the Brahmins practised magic, and that many of the jugglers' tricks were supernatural, and performed by infernal aid.

That the Brahmin should sometimes artfully make use of his inviolability for purposes of self-interest, may easily be supposed; and we agree with the author of the article in the *Researches* above quoted, that this may probably have given rise to what is called the *Dherna*, though it is now practised by others as well as Brahmins. The *Dherna* in respect to its intention is similar to the *Koor*. To obtain what is wanted, the claimant sits down before the door of the debtor, and, armed with a poniard, or having poison in his hand, threatens to destroy himself should any one attempt to enter or go out of the house; the fear of causing the death of the claimant, and especially of a Brahmin, effectually deters any one from passing him,

and almost always procures satisfaction to be granted. But the usual way, and especially with persons of other casts, is to sit down and declare their resolution neither to quit the spot, nor to eat or drink, until the demand be complied with.

INDEX.

* * * *The Roman numerals refer to the volumes ; the Arabic figures, to the pages of each volume.*

A

ACALIS, or Immortals, a class of the Sikhs, account of, i. 320. Their power and influence, 321.

Adi Granth, a sacred book of the Sikhs, notice of, i. 282 *note*. Extract from it, 349.

Adjyghur fortress, notice of, ii. 126 *note*.

Agny, the god of fire, and the Grecian Vulcan, identity of, i. 116, 117.

Ahmed, founder of the Afghan monarchy, account of, i. 296—299. Defeats the Mahrattas at the battle of Panniputh, 302—304. His successes against the Sikhs, 305, 306. His death and character, 307.

Akber (Emperor), biographical notice of, i. 203, 204 *note*.

Alexander the Great, coins of, i. 66, 67. Progress of in India, ii. 268—272. His reasons for founding Alexandria, 273, 274. His interview with Nearchus, 276, 277.

Alexandria, port of, when founded, ii. 274. Its subsequent improvements and trade, 277—280.

Alphabets of the Hindūs, ii. 178.

Amera Cosha, a Sanscrit grammatical work, account of, ii. 172—176. The writings of its author, Amera Sinha, why proscribed, 177, 178.

Amritsar, town of, by whom founded, i. 282. Destroyed by Taimur, 299, 300. Present state of the town, 317—320 *notes*.

Amusements of the Hindūs, ii. 141, 147, 148.

Apollo Nomius, the same with Krishen, i. 113—116.

Architecture of the Hindūs, ancient remains of, ii. 84—86. Subterraneous excavations and temples at Ellora, described, 86—90. Account of the architectural antiquities of Mavalipuram, 90—100. Excavations in different parts of Candahar, 101—110.

Arithmetic of the Hindūs, account of, ii. 24. Its similarity with that of the Greeks and Romans, 24 *note*.

Army (Hindū), constituents of, ii. 153.

Arracan, language of, ii. 213, 214—216.

Arrian (the historian of Alexander) 's account of India, object and sources of, ii. 255—257. General character of his work, 258—262.

Arrian, the navigator, notice of, ii. 289 *note*.

Asiatic Society, institution and design of, i. 22, 23.

Astrologers, influence of, in India, i. 175, 176.

Astronomy of the Hindūs, ii. 1. Four sets of ancient astronomical tables brought to Europe, 2—7. Divisions of the zodiac, 8—13. The bases of these sets proved to be the same, 49, 50. Their rules for calculating eclipses, 18—21. Differences between Hindū and European astronomy, 33—40. The antiquity of the Hindū astronomy proved, 25—32, 43, 44. Though it contain rules of later construction, 45—48. The construction of the Hindū tables, a proof of their knowledge of geometry, arithmetic, and theoretical astronomy, 51. Observations on Hindū astronomy, by M. Delambre, 347—356. Hindū works on astronomy, i. 243.

Atheistical Philosophy, systems of, among the Hindūs, i. 239.

Athenians, money of, i. 62, 63.

Audh, or *Ayódhyá*, ancient city of, notice of, i. 13, 14.

Avenues of trees, remains of, in India, i. 313 *note*.

Ayodhya and *Bacchus*, identity of, i. 117—122.

B.

Bacchus of the ancients, the same deity as the *Ayodhya* of the Hindūs, i. 117—122.

Bailly (M.), observations of, on the astronomy of the Hindūs, ii. 2, 5, 13, 16, 18.

Bali language, notice of, ii. 212. Account of its alphabet and structure, 223—227.

Bamyan, district of, notice of, ii. 107—108.

Banda, a leader of the Sikhs, account of, i. 289. His successes against the Mohammedans, 290. Cruelly put to death, 291 *note*. Innovations introduced by him, 292.

Barma empire, notice of, ii. 213 *note*. Account of its language, 216, 217.

Beauty of the Hindū women, ii. 148.

Bengalah or *Bengali* languages, notice of, ii. 191—193.

Bigotry of the Mohammedan sovereigns of India, i. 19, 20.

Brahma, a Hindū deity, the same as *Jupiter*, i. 95. His characteristics, 96.

Brahmins, character of, inviolable, i. 34. Account of their different classes and avocations, ii. 337—338.

Buddha, tenets of the pupils of, i. 225, 226, 267—269.

Bundelcund (province of), notice of, ii. 123 *note*.

Burning of widows, not general among the Sikhs, i. 333, 334.

But general in other parts of India, ii. 132. Sanctioned by the Hindū law, 132—134. Ceremonial of burning a widow described, 134—136.

Burying of widows alive, sometimes practised, ii. 137.

C.

Calculations of the Hindūs, ii. 22, 23.

Calcutta college, notice of, ii. 177 *note*.

Cali, the wife of Siva, the same as Proserpine, i. 127—129.

Various appellations given to her, 130—134.

Calidas, a Hindū Poet, beautiful epigram of, ii. 184.

Notice of his works, *ibid*, 185. Account of his tragedy of *Sacontala*, 186—188.

Callisthenes, notice of, i. 220, 221 *note*.

Camadeva, or the Indian Cupid, proof of his identity with the Cupid of the Greeks, i. 109, 112. Account of him, 110, 111.

Candahar, ancient excavations of, described, ii. 101—110.

Canoge, ancient city of, its site and splendour, i. 9, 10.

Capila, founder of a Hindū school of philosophy, notice of, i. 218.

Carnatic, ancient inundation of; proof of, ii. 100, 101.

Cashmirian women, dress of, ii. 146. Beauty of, 149.

Casica Vritti, a Sanscrit grammatical work, account of, ii. 168—170.

Cast, distinctions of, rigorously observed in India, ii. 138. Origin of them in India, 336.

Ceres and *Lacshmi*, the same deities, i. 137, 138.

Chandra-gupta, the *Sandrocotus* of the Greeks, Hindū Accounts of, ii. 328—332.

Character of the Hindūs, ii. 139, 140.

Children, exposed to sale, i. 35 *note*.

Colebrooke (Mr.), observations of, on the astronomy of the Hindūs, ii. 8—11.

Commerce of India with European nations, ii. 280 *et seq.* Of the Greeks, *ibid*. Of the Romans, 289—297. Of the Persians, 298—302. Of the Venetians and Genoese, 313—315. Of the Portuguese, 316. Of the English, 317.

Courage, extraordinary instances of, among the Hindūs, ii. 113—126.

Creation, Hindū account of, i. 29—33.

Cshatriya, or Military Cast, instances of extraordinary courage in, ii. 113—123.

Cupid of the ancients and the Indian God of Love, resemblance between, i. 109, 112.

D.

Dancing Women, dress of, ii. 147. Their privileges and accomplishments, *ibid.* No festival complete without them, 148.

Darius, secretly visited India, i. 15, 16 *note*.

Deity, Hindū notions concerning, i. 190—205.

Delambre (M.), observations of, on the astronomy of the Hindūs, ii. 347—356.

Delta of the Indus, i. 2 *note*†.

Deluge, Hindū account of, i. 91, 92.

Deva Nagari characters, ii. 178.

Dramatic Poetry of the Hindūs, ii. 183—186. Account of the tragedy of *Sacotala*, 186—188.

Dravira district, extent of, ii. 195, 196.

Dress of the Hindūs, ii. 141. Of the common people, 142. Of the higher classes, 143. Of the women, 144, 145. Female dress in *Cashmire*, 146. Dress of the dancing women, 147.

Duncan (Mr.), on Hindū infanticide, ii. 128—131.

E.

East India Company, origin of, ii. 317.

Education, Hindū mode of, ii. 25, 26 *note*.

Egyptians, ancient money of, i. 52—55.

Ellora, architectural antiquities of, described, ii. 86—90.

Supposed to be the ancient *Tagara*, 282 *note*.

Ethics, Hindū principles of, i. 227—229.

Excavations, subterraneous at *Ellora*, described, ii. 86—90

Other excavations in the islands of Elephanta and Salsette, 90. Account of those of Mavalipuram, 90—100, and of Candahar, 101—110.

Exports from Europe to ancient India, account of, ii. 298.

F.

Fire arms, used in India, ii. 149, 150. Structure of the Hindū rockets and fire-balls, 150, 151.

Food of the Hindūs, ii. 141.

Fortitude of the Hindūs at the approach of death, ii. 127.

G.

Ganesa, a Hindū deity, the same with Janus, i. 93.

Gaura, or the language of Bengal, notice of, ii. 191—193.

Gotama, founder of a Hindū school of philosophy, notice of, i. 219.

Gour, notice of the ancient city of, i. 10, 11. Its present state, 12. Ruins of ancient edifices there, 12, 13 *note*.

Grammatical Works of the Hindūs, i. 242. Sanscrit grammar of Panini, ii. 163—166. Commentaries thereon, 166—172.

Greeks had but little knowledge of ancient India, i. 14—15. Money when introduced among them, 56. Why their ancient coins were impressed with the figure of an ox or sheep, 58—61. Money of the Athenians, 62, 63. Of the Lacedemonians, 64, 65. Analogy between the ancient Greek schools of philosophy and those of the Hindūs, 245.

Gurgura, or language of Guzerat, notice of, ii. 199.

Guru Govind-Sing, a leader of the Sikhs, account of, i. 285. Alterations introduced by him, 286. New ordinances issued by him, 288.

H.

Halked (Mr.), on the antiquity and prevalence of the Sanscrit language, ii. 181—183.

Har Govind, a leader of the Sikhs, notice of, i. 283. Extract of his institutes, 350—352.

Hastings (Mr.), successfully conciliates the Brahmins, i. 21. His honourable tribute to Sir Wm. Jones, 23.

Hebrews, ancient money of, i. 49—51.

Hindi or *Hindevi* language, notice of, ii. 190, 191.

Hindoo-Kho mountains, ancient excavations in, described, ii. 101—110.

Hindūs, literature and sciences of, when first investigated, i. 17. Bigotry of their Mohammedan conquerors, 19. Efforts made by Mr. Hastings to promote their comfort, 21. Successful researches of Sir Wm. Jones, 24—26. Laws and institutes of Menu, 25, 27. Hindū doctrines concerning the creation, 29—33. Antiquity of Hindū money, 47—49, 74, 75. The Hindūs skilled in refining metals, 80. Their foreign trade, 81. Revolutions in their history, 82—85. Immense wealth, 86, 87. Their account of the deluge, 91, 92. Their mythology, and its affinity with that of the Greeks and Romans, 93—156. Their philosophy and theology, 179—205. The Hindūs not idolaters, 206—215. Account of the Sikhs, 277—353. Hindū astronomy and other sciences, ii. 1—83. Their architecture and ancient structures, 84—110. Their food, domestic manners, and customs, described, i. 88—90. ii. 111—149. Manufactures of the Hindū ii. 155, 156. Their general character, 138—140, 149. Their languages, 160—249. Account of their ancient commerce and communications with European nations, 263—317. General review of their polity, 318—323. No proselytes admitted by the Hindūs, 157.

Hindūstān, derivation of the name, i. 6. Its extent, 7.

Ancient sovereigns, *ibid.* 8. Principal cities, 9—13.

Huet (M.), biographical notice of, i. 212, 213 *note*.

I.

Idol-Worship, opinions of the Pundits on, i. 206—209. And of the Brahmins, 210—212.

Imports from ancient India to Europe, ii. 290—304.

India, ancient, extent of, i. 1—6. *India intra Gangem* and *extra Gangem*, 3, 4. Origin of its appellation, *Hindūstān*, 6, 7. Sovereigns, or Rajahs, 7, 8. Principal cities, 8—13. But little known to the Greeks, 14, 15. Probably visited by Darius and Zoroaster, 15, 16 *note*. Account of ancient writers, who have described this country, ii. 250—262. Ancient commerce and communications with India by European nations, 263—317.

Indo-Chinese nations, observations on the languages and literature of, ii. 201—235.

Infanticide not general in *Hindūstān*, ii. 128. Abolished by the tribe of Rajkumars, 130, 131.

Interest on money, laws of Menu concerning, i. 35, 36, 43.

J.

Jaimini, founder of a sect of philosophers, tenets of, i. 265.

Jains, or *Jainas*, a Hindū sect, tenets of, i. 269—276.

Janus of the Greeks and Romans, the same as the Ganesa of the Hindūs, i. 93.

Javanese, literature of, ii. 212.

Jones (Sir William), institutes the Asiatic Society, i. 22. His successful researches into Hindū literature, jurisprudence, and sciences, 24—26. His admirable knowledge of the Sanscrit language, ii. 179, 180.

- Jupiter*, the same deity as Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva, i. 95.
 Proofs of the identity of Jupiter the Destroyer, with Siva, 98—101. Jupiter Marinus, and Mahadeva, the same deities, 102—108.
- Jurisprudence*, Hindū systems of, i. 244. Analysis of the Institutes of Menu, 33 et seq.
- Justice*, administration of, among the Sikhs, i. 327.
- Justinian* (Emperor), introduced silk into Greece, ii. 302, 303.

K.

- Kaly-Yug*, an Hindū æra, ii. 4.
- Khalsa*, or Constitution of the Sikhs, account of, i. 317—319, 322—324.
- K'hohmen* dialect, notice of, ii. 220.
- Khrosroes*, Emperor of Persia, defeats the Greeks, ii. 305.
 Is himself defeated, 308. His territories invaded by the Turks, 309.
- Knowledge* (Hindū), analysis of, i. 232—239.
- Koor*, a singular practice of the Hindūs, account of, ii. 354.
- Krishen*, the same deity as the Apollo Nomius of the Greeks, i. 113—116.

L.

- Lacedemonians*, money of, i. 64, 65.
- Lacshmi* and Ceres, the same deities, i. 137, 138.
- Langlès* (M.), opinion of, on the antiquity of Hindū money, i. 48, 49.
- Languages* of India, ii. 160. Paisachi, what, *ibid.* Prācrita language, 161, 188—190. The Magadhi, or vulgar language, 161. Account of the Sanscrit language, *ibid.* 162, 179—183, and of its grammarians, 163—178.

Its force and utility, 236—238. Account of the Hindi, or Hindevi language, 190, 191. And of the Gaura, or Bengalah language, 191—193. Maithila language, 193. Utcala, or Odadresa language, 194. Tamul language, 196. Mahratta dialect, 197, 198. Carnata and Télingah language, 198, 199. Gurjura, or the language of Guzerat, 199, 200. Account of the Malay, or Malayu language, 205—210. The Bali and Madura languages, 212. Alphabet and language of Arracan, 213—216. Mon, or language of Pegu, 217. Thay, or language of the Siamese, 218. K'hohmen and Láo dialects, 220—222. Account of the Bali alphabet and language, 223—226. Proof of its being a dialect of the Sanscrit, 227, 232. Account of the Zend language, and character, 229—234.

La Place (M.), observations of, on the astronomy of the Hindūs, ii. 62—66.

Law, or *Láo* dialect, notice of, ii. 221, 222.

Laws of Menu, analysis of, i. 33. Concerning Brahmins, 34. Interest on Money, 35, 36. Concerning the qualification of officers, 39. On hire for servitude, 40. Taxes and Rates, 41. Markets, 42. Loans, 43.

Laws of the Hindūs, observation on, ii. 319. See *Menu*.

Lexicons (Hindū), notice of, i. 247.

Leyden (Dr.), on the languages, &c. of the Indo-Chinese nations, ii. 201—235.

Lingam of the Hindūs, the same deity as the Phallus and Priapus of the Greeks and Romans, i. 139—144.

Loans, regulations of Menu concerning, i. 35, 36, 43.

Lotos, venerated by the Hindūs in common with other ancient nations, i. 145—154. True species of, ascertained, 154—157.

Lutchman Dow (Rajah), melancholy catastrophe of the family of, ii. 123—126 *note*.

M.

Madura language, notice of, ii. 212.

Magadhi, or vulgar language of the Hindūs, ii. 161.

Mahabhasha, a Sanscrit grammatical work, account of, ii. 167. Commentaries thereon, 168—170.

Maha-bharat, a Hindū poem, notice of, i. 187.

Mahadeva, and Jupiter the Destroyer, the same deities, i. 102—108.

Mahmoud of Ghizni, ravages India, i. 82.

Mahrattas assist the Sikhs, i. 300, 301. Are defeated by Ahmed, sovereign of Afghanistan, 302—306. Immense loss of the Mahrattas, 306 *note*. Account of their language, ii. 197. Historical sketch of their origin, and political state, 339—347.

Maitila language, account of, ii. 193, 194.

Malay language, account of, ii. 205—210. Literature of the Malays, 210, 211.

Manners and habits of the Hindūs, brief notice of, i. 88—90.

Detailed account of, ii. 111 *et seq.* Circumstances tending to render their character mild, 111—113. Instances of extraordinary courage, 113—126. Fortitude of the Hindūs at the approach of death, 127. Infanticide practised only by some tribes, 128. Abolished by the tribe of Rajkumars, 130, 131. Account of widows burning themselves with deceased husbands, 132—136. And burying themselves, 137. Amusements, 141. Food, *ibid.* Dress of the men, 142, 143. Dress of the women, 144, 145, 146. Of the dancing women, 147, 148. Reverence for seniors of families, 149.

Manufactures of the Hindūs, ii. 155, 156.

Matalipuram, subterraneous excavations and antiquities of, described, ii. 90—100.

Medical works of the Hindūs, i. 241.

- Menu*, Institutes of, translated by Sir William Jones, i. 25, 27. Menu and Minos, whether the same persons, 28, 29 *note*. Style of the Institutes, 28. Coincidence between the Institutes of Menu and the Orphic Verses, 30 *note*. Their Doctrine concerning the Creation, 29—33. Analysis of the laws of Menu, 33 et seq. Menu and Saturn, the same persons, 94. Burning of widows recommended in the Institutes of Menu, ii. 132—134.
- Metals*, refining of, practised by the Hindūs, i. 80, 81.
- Metaphysics* of the Hindūs, concerning natural bodies, i. 229—232.
- Millin* (M. le Chevalier), observations of, on the ancient worship of the moon as a male and female deity, i. 126 *note*.
- Mimangsa* sect, tenets of, i. 265, 266.
- Minos*, a pagan deity, the same as the Yama of the Hindūs, i. 94.
- Mohi*, ancient excavations of, described, ii. 103—110.
- Mon*, or language of Pegu, ii. 217.
- Money* of the Hindūs, proofs of its antiquity, i. 36, 37. Laws concerning, 38—45. Opinion of M. Sacy on the antiquity of Hindū money, 47. And of M. Langlès, 48, 49. Money of the ancient Hebrews, 49, 50. Of ancient Egypt, 52—55. When introduced into Greece, 56. Reason why ancient coinshad the figures of an ox or sheep on them, 58—61. Whether the Athenians had gold money, 62. Athenian silver coins, 63. Lacedemonian coins, 64, 65. Coins of Alexander, 66, 67. Copper money, when struck at Rome, 68. Imperial coins, 70. From what sources the Romans derived their money, 71, 72. Chinese ignorant of the art of coining, 73. Hindū coins, 74, 75. Observations of the Chevalier Visconti on ancient money, 75—79.
- Monsoons* of India, account of, ii. 263—268.

Moon of the ancient Greeks, and the Hindū Iswara, resemblances between, i. 125. The moon both a male and female deity, 126, and *note*.

Moral Wisdom of the Hindūs, i. 227—229.

Musical works of the Hindūs, i. 242.

Mythology of the Hindūs, and its affinity with that of the Greeks and Romans, i. 93, 169—176. Ganesa the same with Janus, 93. Saturn, with Menu, 94. Yama, with Minos, *ibid*. Jupiter, with Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva, 96. Brahma, how characterised, 96. Vishnu, how characterised, *ibid*. Analogy between Jupiter the Destroyer, and Siva, 98—101 ;—and between the Jupiter Marinus and Mahadeva, 102—108. Resemblance between the Indian god of love, and the Cupid of the ancients, 109, 112. Account of Camadeva, or the Indian Cupid, 110, 111. Resemblance between the Apollo Nomius of the ancients, and the Hindū Krishen, 113—116. Between Agny and Vulcan, 116, 117. Between Ayodhya and Bacchus, 117—122. Between the sun and Surya, 123, 124. The moon and Iswara, 125. The moon both a male and female deity, 126, and *note*. Cali, the wife of Siva, identified with Proserpine, 127, 128, 129. Other appellations of Cali, 130—134. Resemblance between Pallas and Sareswati, the wife of Vishnu, 135. Between Lacshmi and Ceres, 137, 138. Between the Lingam of the Hindūs, and the deity, Phallus or Priapus, in their attributes and worship, 139—144. Sacred rivers of India, 144, 145. Veneration of the Lotos by the Hindūs, 145—154. The true species of Lotos ascertained, 154—157. Other plants venerated by the Hindūs, 157—167.

N.

Nanac, founder of the sect of the Sikhs, account of, i. 278—281.

Nearchus, sketch of the voyage of, ii. 271—273. His interview with Alexander the Great, 276, 277.

Nyaya school of philosophers, tenets of, i. 254—260.

O.

Odadresa language, notice of, ii. 194.

Officers, qualifications of, according to the Institutes of Menu, i. 39.

Omens, superstitious regard of, i. 175, 176.

Ongole, Rajah, anecdote of the desperate courage of, ii. 113, 114.

Ophir, probable situation of, i. 50 *note*.

Orphic verses, and the Institutes of Menu, coincidence between, i. 30, 31 *note*.

Oujein, ruins of, i. 8, ii. 3 *note*.

P.

Paisachi language, notice of, ii. 160.

Palibothra, ancient city of, its probable site, i. 9, 10. Researches concerning, ii. 329—335.

Pallas and *Sareswati*, resemblance between, i. 135.

Panini, a Sanscrit grammarian, account of, and of his work, ii. 163—166. Commentaries on it, 166—172.

Panjab, territory, notice of, i. 312.

Panniputh, battle of, i. 302—304. Cruelties practised there, 307, 308 *note*.

Parents, reverence for, in India, ii. 149.

Pearls of immense value worn by the Romans, ii. 293, 294.

Pegu, language of, ii. 217.

Persians, trade of, with ancient India, ii. 298—302.

Phallus, Priapus, and the Hindū Lingam, the same deities, i. 139—144.

Philosophy of the Hindūs, i. 216. Account of the Vyasa, a philosophical Sastra, 216. Abstract of its tenets, 222—224. Different philosophical sects, 218. Sect founded by Capila, *ibid.*; by Gotama, 219. Notions of the pupils of Buddha, 225, 226, 267—269. Moral wisdom of the Hindūs, 227, 229. Hindū metaphysics of natural bodies, 229—232. Analysis of the eighteen parts of Hindū knowledge, 232—239. Atheistical systems of philosophy, 239. Medicine of the Hindūs, 241. Their musical works, 242. Grammar, 242. Astronomical works, 243. Notice of Hindū poets, 243, 244. Hindū jurisprudence, 244. Analogy between the Hindū philosophical schools and those of the ancient Greeks, 245. Particular sciences studied by particular classes, 246, 247. Tenets of the Vedanta and Nyaya schools of philosophy, 248—263. Doctrines of the sect of Sankhya, 264, 265. Tenets of the Mimangsa sect, founded by Jaimini, 265, 266. Account of the doctrines of the Jains, 269—276. Tenets and practices of the Sikhs, 277—353.

Plants venerated by the Hindūs, account of, i. 145. The Lotos, *ibid.* 146—157. Notice of other plants, 158. Sara, or the Arrow-cane, *ibid.* Durva, *ibid.* Cusa, or the Ficus Religiosus, 159. Bandhuca, Singata, and Chandana, or Sandalum, 160. Camalata, or Sunshine, 161. Cadamba, the Nauclea of Linnæus, different species of, 162, 163. Asoca, or Venjula, 164. Parnasa, or Ocymum, *ibid.* Patali, or Bignonia, 165. Na-

- gacesara, or Mesua, 165. Palasa, 166. Sami, or the Mimosa, *ibid.* Bilva, or the Cratæva, 167.
- Playfair* (Professor), Observations of, on the Astronomy of the Hindūs, ii. 12, 13, 27—62.
- Poets* (Hindū), notice of, i. 243, 244.
- Polytheism*, not of Grecian origin, i. 168.
- Pouranas*, notice of the, i. 187. The Oupa-Pourana what, 188. What subjects are treated of, in them, ii. 164 *note*.
- Pracrita* language, notice of, ii. 161, 188—190. Proofs of its being derived from the Sanscrit, 228—230, 232.
- Prasii*, empire of, Hindū accounts of, ii. 329 et seq.
- Priapus* and Lingam, the same deities, i. 139—144.
- Proselytes*, law admitted among the Sikhs, i. 344—346. None admitted by the other tribes of Hindūs, ii. 157, 158.
- Ptolemy Lagos*, King of Egypt, improved the port of Alexandria, ii. 278, 279.
- Pythagoras*, derived his philosophy from the Hindūs, i. 170—172.

Q.

- Qualifications* of offices, according to the laws of Menu, i. 39.

R.

- Ramachandra*, a Hindū grammarian, notice of, ii. 168, 169.
- Ramayan* or *Ramayana*, a Hindū poem, notice of, i. 188.
- Rangarow* (Rajah), anecdote of his desperate courage, ii. 114—120.
- Rekhend* language, alphabet, and literature, account of, ii. 213—216.
- Religion* of the Siamese, ii. 239—246; of the Hindūs, see *Theology*.
- Revenues* of the Sikh chieftains, i. 325, 326.

- Rivers*, sacred, of India, notice of, i. 144, 145.
Rockets (Hindū), structure of, ii. 151.
Roman money, observations on, i. 68—70. From what sources the Romans drew their immense sums, 71, 72.
Romans, trade of, with India, ii. 289. Pearls of immense value worn by the Roman ladies, 293—295. Silks, when first worn by them, 295. Vast quantities of spices consumed at their funerals, 296, 297.

S.

- Sacrifices*, human, observations on, ii. 111, 112 *note*.
Sacy (M.), on the antiquity of Hindū money, i. 47.
Sandrocotus, King of the Prasii, Hindū accounts of, ii. 327—329.
Sankhya, sect of philosophers, notice of, i. 264, 265.
Sanscrit language, account of, ii. 161—163. Notice of its principal grammarians, 163—176. Proficiency attained in it by Sir William Jones, 179, 180. Its antiquity and prevalence, 181—183. The Bali, Pracrit, and Zend languages derived from the Sanscrit, 226—230. Importance of the Sanscrit language as a key to every other language of India, 236—238.
Sareswati and Pallas, the same deities, i. 135.
Saturn of the Greeks and Romans the same as the Menu of the Hindūs, i. 94.
Sciences, particular, studied by particular classes of Hindūs, i. 246, 247. Effect of them on the Hindūs, 320, 321.
Servitude, law concerning hire for, i. 40.
Sesterce, of the Romans, observations on the value of, ii. 294 *note*.
Shah-Abdin, immense riches of, i. 83.
Shastras or *Sastras*, sacred books of the Hindūs, notice of, i. 188.

- Siamese* language and literature, ii. 218 and *note*. Sketch of the religious tenets and practices of the Siamese, 239—240, 247, 248, 249. Manners and habits of the Talapoins, or monks, 241—246.
- Sikhs*, a Hindū Sect, account of, i. 277 et seq. Birth, occupations, and tenets of their founder, Nanac, 278—281. His immediate successors, 281. *Adi-Granth*, or the first Sacred Book, 282 *note*. The Sikhs take up arms under Har Govind, 383. Extract of his Institutes, 340, 350—352. Disputes concerning the succession of spiritual leaders, 284. Accession of Guru Govind Singh, 285. Alterations introduced by him, 286. Recovers the body of Tegh Singh, 287. New ordinances issued by Guru Govind, 288. Is succeeded by Banda, as temporal Chieftain of the Sikhs, 289. His successes and reverses, in war with the Mohammedans, 290. Is cruelly put to death, 291 *note*. Innovations introduced by Banda, 292. Oppression and persecution of the Sikhs, 292, 293. They gradually recover themselves, 293. Their general constitution, 294. Make incursions into the Afghan territories, 295, 296. Recovery of their affairs in Lahore, 301. Again defeated by Ahmed, 305. His cruel treatment of them, 305, 307 *note*, 308 *note*. The Sikhs extend their conquests, 309. Defects of their government, 310. Extent of their territories, 311. Account of them, 312—316. Manners of the Singhs, or soldier Sikhs, 314, 315. Duaba-Singh, 316. Manj'ha Singh, 316. D'harpi Singh, *ibid*. Analysis of the Sikh government, 317—325. The *Khalsa* or invisible government, 317. Mode of summoning a Guru Mata, or national assembly, 317—319, 322—324. Religious orders among the Sikhs, the Acalis, or immortals, 320. Their power and influence, 321. The Shahad and Virmala, 321, 322. Prejudices against Mohammedans,

- 324.** Revenues of the Sikh chieftains, 325, 326. Their administration of justice, 327. Panjayat, or court of five, *ibid.* Appearance and character of the Sikhs, especially of the Singhs, 328, 329, 330. Anecdote of a Sikh Soldier, 328—330 *note*. Character of the Khalasa Sikhs, 330. General character of the Sikh people, 331 and *note*. Their private customs and marriages, 332. Custom of widows burning themselves not general among the Sikhs, 333, 334. Military forces and discipline of the Sikhs, 335—337. Their religious principles, 337—344, 347—452. Veneration for the cow race, 339. Mode of admitting proselytes, 344—346.
- Silk*, when first worn by the Romans, ii. 295. Culture of silk-worms how introduced from China into Europe, 303, 304.
- Siva*, and Jupiter the Destroyer, resemblance between, i. 98—101. The wife of Siva, the same as Proserpine, 127—129.
- Sneezing*, accounted portentous by the Hindūs, i. 177.
- Soldier*, Hindū, anecdote of, i. 328—330 *note*.
- Solomon*, commerce of, with the east, i. 50, 51 *note*.
- Spices*, vast quantities of, consumed by the Romans, ii. 296, 297.
- Storm*, tremendous, described, ii. 265—268 *notes*.
- Strabo's* description of India, sources of, ii. 251—254, 256.
- Surya*, a Hindū deity, and the sun, identically the same, i. 123, 124.

T.

- Tailinga* or *Télinga* language, notice of, ii. 198, 199.
- Taimur Shah*, is defeated by the Sikhs, i. 300. Ascends the Afghan throne, 308.

- Talapains*, or Siamese monks, manners, habits, and tenets of, ii. 241—246.
- Tamerlane*, conquests and ravages of, in India, i. 84. 85.
- Tamul* language, notice of, ii. 196.
- Taxila*, ruins of, i. 9.
- Temples*, subterraneous, of the Hindūs, at Ellora, ii. 86, 87.
At Mavalipuram, 91—95.
- Thai*, or Siamese, language, notice of, ii. 218.
- Theology* of the Hindūs, a pure theism, i. 179—181. Representations of the divine attributes, by sensible objects, 182. Principles of Hindū theology, extracted from their writings, 190—205.
- Tiberius*, accession of, to the throne of Constantinople, ii. 306. Defeats the Persians, 308.
- Tippoo* (Sultan), anecdote of, i. 175 *note*.
- Trade* of India with European nations, ii. 280—317.
- Trigonometry* of the Hindūs, account of, ii. 52—66.
- Turks* invade Persia, ii. 311. Their origin, 309, 310.
- Tyre*, notice of, ii. 274 *note*.

U.

- Ulgah Beigh*, astronomical tables of, ii. 29.
- Urcala* language, notice of, ii. 194.

V.

- Vedanta* school of philosophy, tenets of, i. 250—254, 260—263.
- Vedas*, or sacred books of the Hindūs, notice of, i. 185, 186.
Commentaries on them, 187, 241.
- Visconti* (M. le Chevalier), opinion of, on the origin of coins being impressed with figures of oxen or sheep, i. 55—61.

- On Athenian gold money, 62. On Athenian coins in general, 63, 64 *note*. Observations of, on ancient money in general, 75—79. Remarks on the worship of the moon as a male and female deity, 126—128 *note*. On the value of the Roman Sesterce, ii. 294 *note*.
- Vishnu*, a Hindū deity, the same as Jupiter, i. 96. Characteristics of, i. 97.
- Viziararamrauze* (Rajah), anecdote of his malice, ii. 114—119. Is assassinated, 121.
- Vulcan* and *Agny*, the same deities of fire in Greece and in India, i. 117.
- Vyasa*, the founder of a school of Hindū philosophy, i. 216. Abstract of his tenets, 222—224. Tenets of his followers, the Vedanta school, 250—254, 260—263.

W.

- Ward* (Mr.), remarks on his "Account of the writings, &c. of the Hindūs," i. 214. ii. 158, 159.
- Widows* (Hindū), ceremonial of burning them described, ii. 132—136.
- Wilford* (Captain), researches of, concerning the empire of the Prasii, and the situation of Palibothra, ii. 327—335.
- Wilkins* (Dr.), observations of, on the importance of cultivating a knowledge of Sanscrit, ii. 236—238.
- Women* (Hindū), dress of, ii. 144, 145. Dress of the women of Cashmire, 146. Of the dancing women, 147.

Y.

- Yama*, a Hindū deity, the same as the Minos of the ancients, i. 94.

Yaga, or yaga of the Hindus, account of, i. 172—174.

Z.

Zend language, derived from the Sanscrit, i. 225, 229. The
Zend character, the probable origin of the Coptic cha-
racter, 234.

Ziegenbald (M.), a Danish missionary to India, notice of, i.
209 note.



Yugs, or ages of the Hindūs, account of, i. 172—174.

Z.

Zend language, derived from the Sanscrit, ii. 228, 229. The Zend character, the probable origin of the Cūfic character, 234.

Ziegenbalg (M.), Danish missionary to India, notice of, i. 209 *note*.

LET

RY

**PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET**

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY
